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Edited by W. R. VALENTINER and E. P. RICHARDSON

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THE ART QUARTERLY

AUTUMN, 1944



*Fig. 1. REMBRANDT, Self-Portrait
Cologne, Wallraf Richartz Museum*

REMBRANDT—DEMOCRITUS *By* WOLFGANG STECHOW

AMONG the later self-portraits of Rembrandt the canvas in the Wallraf Richartz Museum in Cologne (formerly in the Carstanjen collection)¹ holds a unique position (Fig. 1). It has puzzled and intrigued many writers and made some of them jump to strange conclusions. On the other hand, the most penetrating comment on it is found in a rather inconspicuous place. It was made by one of the most sensitive of all Rembrandt connoisseurs and scholars, the late F. Schmidt-Degener, who with a series of magnificent exhibitions held at the Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam, has rendered a lasting service to the admirers and students of the works of Holland's greatest painter. His description of the painting in the catalogue of the Rembrandt exposition of 1932 follows:

Laughing Self-portrait, about 1663. Rembrandt is standing in front of his easel and has broken into a peculiar laugh by reason of which this portrait forms an exception among his later self-mirrorings. To the left, a painted figure, in a strange make-up, with the ironical profile of a Caesar. It is possible that Rembrandt has here depicted himself in the rôle of a laughing Democritus and that the painted figure was intended to intimate the earnest Heraclitus. The yellow light upon the shoulder recalls the *Homer* of the Bredius collection.

So far as I know, Schmidt-Degener's tentative interpretation of the puzzling laugh has never been followed up, yet it seems to me to offer the only valid explanation of it.

Werner Weisbach, to whom we are indebted for the most comprehensive survey of the theme of *The Laughing and the Weeping Philosopher* in art,² has failed to mention this work although he did refer to a seventeenth century interpretation of an early portrait of a laughing man by Rembrandt³ as a Democritus. But his article contains valuable material for an inquiry into the validity of Schmidt-Degener's suggestion. I should like to point to the following facts.

FIRST: The theme was often represented by Dutch predecessors and contemporaries of Rembrandt such as Cornelis van Haarlem, Hendrick Terbrugghen (Fig. 5),⁴ Jan Bylert (Fig. 2) and Judith Leyster. As early as around 1600, Cornelis Ketel had painted no less than three renderings of this subject (one of them with his toes!); of these, one was copied by Rembrandt's friend Jan Lievens at the age of thirteen.⁵ The large picture which was formerly attributed to Rembrandt himself but is now usually (though not

quite convincingly) given to Carel van der Pluym,⁶ also proves that the topic was familiar to Rembrandt's intimate circle (Fig. 4). To this can be added a hitherto unrecognized rendering by Rembrandt's pupil Govaert Flinck.⁷

SECOND: While most of these representations lay equal emphasis on the two philosophers, at least one of them concentrates upon Democritus in such a way as to make Heraclitus appear almost negligible. In Cornelis' van Haarlem picture of 1613 in Brunswick,⁸ the weeping philosopher was relegated to the right background where he forms a foil rather than a full contrast to the laughing one.

THIRD: The left figure in Rembrandt's picture may at first sight seem to lack the usual characteristics of Heraclitus, since it does not immediately convey the impression of a weeping person. But closer investigation reveals that this does not at all exclude its convincing identification with Democritus' sad companion. Even though we cannot see the tears in his eyes, his face shows other typical features of the traditional Heraclitus. The closest parallel occurs in the earliest rendering of the theme mentioned by Weisbach. In Bramante's fresco from Casa Panigarola, now in the Brera at Milan (Fig. 3),⁹ Heraclitus is sulking, haggard and toothless; his protruding chin points upwards to his long nose. Precisely the same features are found in Rembrandt's figure. Its leanness returns in Bylert's Heraclitus, its high forehead indicates the baldness emphasized by the same artist (Fig. 2), as well as by Terbrugghen (Fig. 5).

FOURTH: Rembrandt's image reminded Schmidt-Degener of a "Caesar." There is indeed something statuesque to it, recalling the busts of Roman emperors so frequently represented in sixteenth and seventeenth century painting in imitation of ancient sculptured busts. Moreover, the inventory of Rembrandt's collections, drawn up in 1656, listed not only a series of such busts of emperors but also "een Heraclites."¹⁰

We have discussed the traditional material which seems to justify the assumption that the theme of Rembrandt's Carstanjen *Self-Portrait* was "Democritus and Heraclitus." Now, there is no doubt that Democritus is Rembrandt himself. This identification appears to have occurred to at least one painter before Rembrandt, namely Cornelis Ketel.¹¹ But no one had represented Heraclitus as a mere painting—a painting which may confidently be called a work of the artist himself, for it stands on his own easel before which he appears with his painting stick (left below). What did Rembrandt want to express by representing himself as *Democritus painting an image of Heraclitus*?

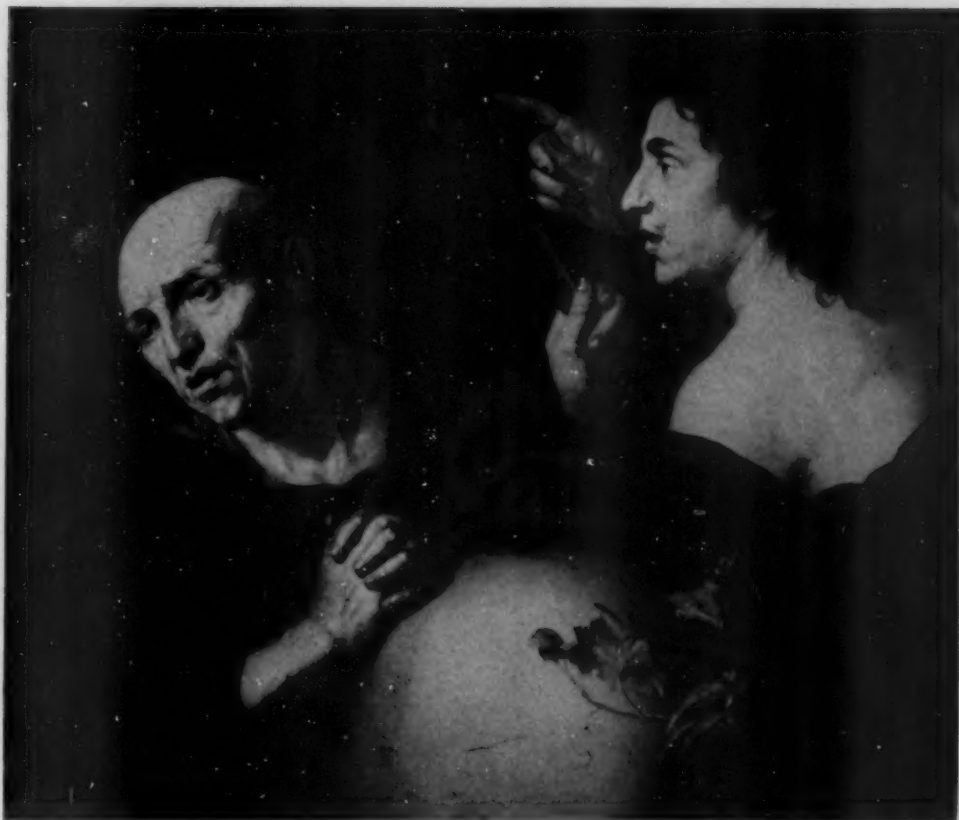


Fig. 2. JAN BYLERT, *Democritus and Heraclitus*
Utrecht, Central Museum



Fig. 3. BRAMANTE, *Democritus and Heraclitus*
Milan, Brera Gallery



Fig. 4. CAREL VAN DER PLUYM (?), *Democritus and Heraclitus*
Whereabouts unknown



Fig. 5. HENDRICK TERBRUGGHEN, *Heraclitus*
Utrecht, Central Museum

First, Democritus-Rembrandt is turning with a broad laugh *ad spectatores*.

"Democritus Junior to the Reader" is the title of Robert Burton's introduction to his *Anatomy of Melancholy*; it could just as well serve as a title to Rembrandt's painting even though there may not exist any direct connection between it and Burton's masterpiece. *Democritus Junior* is Burton, just as Democritus, in our picture, is Rembrandt; both are addressing their audience:

Gentle reader, I presume thou wilt be very inquisitive to know what antick or personate actor this is that so insolently intrudes upon this common theatre to the world's view, arrogating another man's name; whence he is, why he did it, and what he hath to say . . . I will shew a reason, both of this usurped name, title, and subject. And first of the name of *Democritus*; lest any man by reason of it should be deceived, expecting a pasquil, a satire, some ridiculous treatise . . . 'Tis not so with me.

"No centaurs here, or Gorgons look to find,
My subject is of man, and human kind."

(Martial)

. . . Democritus, as he is described by Hippocrates and Laertius, was a little wearish old man, very melancholy by nature, averse from company in his later days, and much given to solitariness . . . A man of an excellent wit, profound conceit . . . After a wandering life, he settled at Abdera . . . there he lived at last in a garden in the suburbs, wholly betaking himself to his studies and a private life, saving that sometimes he would walk down to the haven, and laugh heartily at such variety of ridiculous objects, which there he saw. Such a one was Democritus . . . I [too] am wont to laugh with myself: I laugh at all . . . A mere spectator of other men's fortunes and adventures, and how they act their parts, which methinks are diversely presented unto me, as from a common theatre or scene.¹²

Burton then continues to give reasons why he wrote his book; he wishes to dissect the anatomy of melancholy as Democritus dissected the beasts to find out the seat of melancholy. It is here that the ways of the writer and the painter part. Rembrandt does not preach, he does not try to improve the reader's lot, he would not, like Burton, "spend his time and knowledge, which are his greatest fortunes, for the common good of all" (that is, if we can trust Burton regarding this assertion). He simply paints, and he simply states the case for the spectator.

But there is another profound difference between Rembrandt and all the others. Rembrandt presents Heraclitus as his own creation upon which he expresses a low opinion, as is evident from its negligible rôle. If the artist had wished to use Heraclitus as a contrast or a foil to Democritus-Rembrandt only, why did he represent him as his own creature? I can imagine but one reason for this, namely that Rembrandt wanted to identify Heraclitus with his own

world of worries, blunders and defeats; a world of his own making which nevertheless can be laughed away by the superior spirit of Democritus-Rembrandt. This spirit is once more akin to Burton's, however not in regard to the learned and instructing content of his book, but to its tenor, and in particular, to the passage in its introduction where it says: "If any man except against the matter or manner of treating of this my subject, and will demand a reason of it, I can allege more than one. I writ of melancholy, by being busy to avoid melancholy. There is no greater cause of melancholy than idleness, no better cure than business . . . When I first took this task in hand . . . this I aimed at: to ease my mind by writing, for I had a heavy heart and an ugly head, a kind of imposthume in my head, which I was very desirous to be unladen of, and could imagine no fitter evacuation than this." But here the parallel ends again; for Burton analyzes where Rembrandt synthetizes, and while Burton continues to talk and explain (and does too much of it to be found quite sincere), Rembrandt shapes a lasting symbol with that concise visual integrity and profundity of his which transcends all written matter.

¹ Bode-Hofstede de Groot 306; HdG 360; Bredius 61.

² Der sogenannte Geograph von Velasquez und die Darstellungen des Demokrit und Heraklit, "Jahrbuch der preussischen Kunstsammlungen, XLIX (1928), 141-158.

³ The *Laughing Soldier* in The Hague which does not seem to be a self-portrait and is certainly not a Democritus (although it is an interesting fact that it should have been interpreted as such during Rembrandt's lifetime). See Weisbach, *op. cit.*, p. 157; L. Münz, *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, III (1939-40), 120 f.

⁴ The pair of paintings attributed to Karel du Jardin (C. Hofstede de Groot, *Beschreibendes und kritisches Verzeichnis . . . IX*, nos. 33 and 34) seem from their description to be copies after Terbrugghen's companion-pieces in Amsterdam (on loan to the Central Museum in Utrecht, cat. 1933, nos. 39 and 40).

⁵ Hans Schneider, *Jan Lievens*, Haarlem, 1932, p. 115, no. 96. A fragment of a *Heraclitus* which I saw in the Hamburg art trade in 1932 (with an attribution to M. Scheits by W. Bode) may possibly be connected with either Ketel or Lievens.

⁶ W. R. Valentiner, *Rembrandt (Wiedergefundene Gemälde)*, first ed. no. 68, second ed. no. 77. Weisbach, *op. cit.*, p. 155 f. The attribution to Van der Pluym goes back to A. Bredius (*Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst*, Neue Folge, XXXII (1921), 146 f.). I cannot concur in Weisbach's high esteem of this composition ("in place of an irreconcilable contrast, Rembrandt has achieved a symbiosis"); impressive though the weeping philosopher may seem to be at first sight, both his facial expression and the gesture of his hand remain hazy, and the benign attitude of Democritus bespeaks a similar lack of conciseness.

⁷ Formerly in the F. W. von Bissing collection in Munich; H. Nasse, *Münchener Jahrbuch der bildenden Kunst*, VI (1911), 223 f. ("a pair of philosophers: *The Earnest, The Laughter*").

⁸ Illustrated by Weisbach, *op. cit.*, p. 152.

⁹ See Malaguzzi Valeri's excellent catalogue of the Brera, Bergamo, n.d. (1908), p. 307 ff. and pl. 37.

¹⁰ C. Hofstede de Groot, *Die Urkunden über Rembrandt*, The Hague, 1906, p. 198, no. 154. Compare also the *Aristotle* of 1653 which shows the bust of *Homer* (*ibid.* no. 163). In this connection, it is worth mentioning that Rubens, to whom we owe several renderings of our subject, made a drawing of a *Democritus* "ex marmore antiquo" which was engraved by Lucas Vorsterman (repr. in H. Knackfuss, *Rubens*, tenth ed., Bielefeld, 1920, p. 5; Weisbach, *op. cit.*, p. 154, note 1). Rembrandt's figure has sometimes been mistaken for a real (sculptured) bust.

¹¹ He did so upon request of his patron Hendrick van Os: Van Mander-Floerke, II, 194. Ketel did this painting with his fingers without a brush. It is worth investigating whether other painters than Ketel have identified themselves with Democritus.

¹² Quoted from the edition by Floyd Dell and Paul Jordan-Smith, New York, 1941, p. 11 ff. First edition 1621; the quoted version is mainly based on Burton's final revised edition, posthumously published in 1651.

MARCANTONIO RAIMONDI, HIS PORTRAIT PAINTED BY RAPHAEL, HIS CONNECTION WITH VENETIAN PAINTERS

By WILLIAM E. SUIDA

THE small portrait on panel, $5\frac{1}{4} \times 4\frac{1}{8}$ inches, in the collection of Dr. Alejandro Pietri in Caracas, Venezuela (Fig. 1), shows on the reverse the following inscription (Fig. 2):

M. A

RAIMONDI

ANN.

XL

RAPHAEL VRBIN.

PINXIT.

M D X.

That means that this little portrait of Marcantonio Raimondi, at the age of 40 years, was painted by Raphael in 1510.

The inscription is doubtless an addition made during the sixteenth century, probably very soon after the origin of the picture. All the indications seem to be trustworthy.¹

As for the artistic quality, this little portrait is a real masterpiece. Evidently the artist has represented, with the utmost care, the features of a man who was well known to him. The eyes of the sitter are those of an accurate observer, of an artist who is able to keep in his mind what his eye has perceived. The nose and the somewhat sensual mouth have a certain robustness, but not so much impulsive energy as a quiet assiduous perseverance. The mastership of the pictorial treatment and the richness of interwoven yellow, reddish, brownish, green-grayish tones are indescribable. We are reminded of Raphael's earlier works, even of his Peruginesque period, although it is quite evident that all these elements are developed in a new sense. So the date 1510, indicated by the inscription, is completely plausible.²

Vasari, at the end of his biography of Marcantonio Bolognese states that Raphael painted his portrait:

Nelle quali camere (these are the *Stanze in Vaticano*) fu Marcantonio, essendo giovane, ritratto da Raffaello in uno di quei palafrenieri, che portano Papa Giulio II, in quella parte, dove Onia sacerdote fa orazione. (In those rooms, Marcantonio, when he was young, had been portrayed by Raphael, in that composition where the priest Onia is praying, as one of the attendants who carry Pope Julius II.)

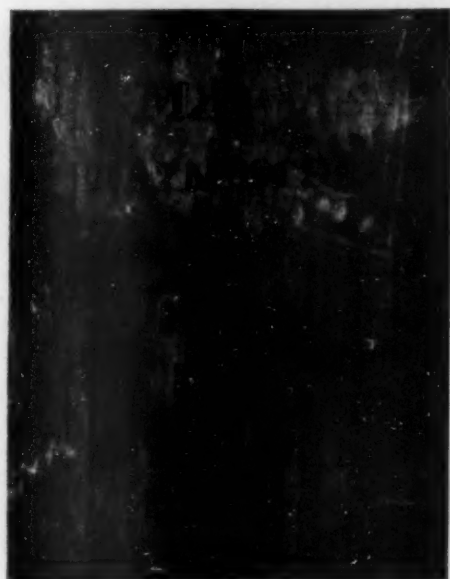
This is the mural, today well known as *The Expulsion of Heliodorus from the Temple* (Fig. 3) in the Second Stanza, which received the name from this very composition. At the left, in fact, we observe the Pope on his chair, carried by several men, among whom the sitter of our small portrait is easily recognizable. His very individual features are somewhat generalized in the mural. Nevertheless, Marcantonio wears there even the same style of shirt and black coat. The difference in pictorial treatment is to be explained by two reasons: the first is that one of the pictures is a small oil painting and the other one a broadly painted mural; the second and perhaps even more important reason is that Raphael's development toward Venetian colorism falls in the time between the two paintings. When Sebastiano Veneziano, the pupil of Giorgione, began his activity in Rome in 1511, Raphael acquainted himself with the achievements of Venetian painting. His murals in the Second Stanza (d'Elidoro), painted from 1511 to 1514, differ coloristically from those in the First Stanza della Segnatura, which had been painted in the years 1509 to 1511. From this point of view also the date 1510 inscribed on the small panel, is quite convincing. Moreover it confirms the generally accepted opinion concerning the beginning of Marcantonio's presence in Rome.

There is one more indication contained in the inscription of our small portrait: that Marcantonio was forty years old in 1510. There is no documentary evidence for either Marcantonio's birth date or for the date of his death. Most of the critics, however, who have written on his life have assumed that he might have been born between 1475 and 1480. As all the other indications of our inscription have been proved trustworthy we may believe the indication about Marcantonio's age to be correct; that means that he was born in 1470 or 1471. We have to emphasize that the inscription is certainly the oldest record we know on the subject and is not much inferior in value to a contemporary document. I must not omit to mention that the woodcut portrait of *Marcantonio Bolognese Intagliatore* in Vasari's Second Edition of the *Vite* (1568) is probably based on Raphael's mural in the Stanza d'Elidoro.

The main facts in Marcantonio's artistic activity are already mentioned by Vasari: his early days in Bologna and his beginnings as an assistant of Francesco Francia; his sojourn in Venice and his copying of Dürer's engravings and woodcuts; finally his activity in Rome, his friendship with Raphael and his importance in making known to the world many compositions and artistic inventions of the great painter. After adventurous days, when he was put in prison for reproducing Giulio Romano's lascive drawings, and after the Sack



*Fig. 1. RAPHAEL, Portrait of Marcantonio Raimondi
Caracas, Venezuela, Dr. Alejandro Pietri Coll.*



*Fig. 2. Inscription on the reverse of
Figure 1*



*Fig. 3. RAPHAEL, The Expulsion of
Heliodorus (detail)
Vatican, Stanza d'Eliodoro*



Fig. 4. RAPHAEL, *Portrait of a Nobleman*
Detroit, Mrs. Edsel B. Ford

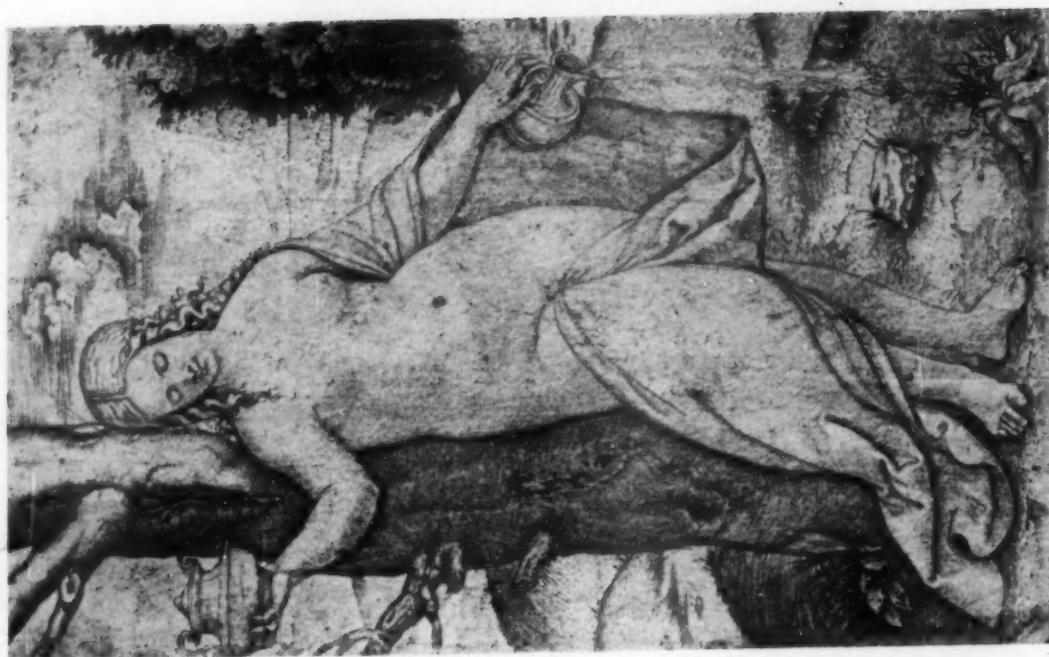


Fig. 5. MARCANTONIO
The Young Woman Watering a Plant (engraving)

of Rome in 1527, he returned to his native city Bologna where he spent his last days in quiet and retirement.

There is one period of his life which has been somewhat neglected by the critics. These are the Venetian years, presumably between 1506 and 1509. Vasari mentions the fact of his stay but seems to believe that Marcantonio was busy chiefly in copying Dürer while in Venice. No thorough research has been made, as far as I know, to establish which of the Venetian painters of that period furnished designs to be reproduced by the excellent engraver.

Many critics have spoken of the Giorgionesque character of the so-called *Raphael's Dream* (Fig. 6) (Bartsch 359, Delaborde 176).³ One of the two nude sleeping women shows the same motive as an engraving by Giulio Campagnola, which is based on Giorgione's *Venus*. The other figure, the one turned toward the spectator, recalls somewhat the types of Sebastiano, Giorgione's pupil. There is no doubt that the phantastic little creatures in the manner of Hieronymus Bosch were familiar in Giorgione's circle, a fact certified by an engraving by Giulio Campagnola, dated 1509, which obviously reproduces a drawing by Giorgione.

The background characterizes the entire composition as a nocturnal scene. There is evidently a contrast between the peaceful castle with illuminated windows at the left and the prison-like building at the right showing all the signs of horror. Flames burst out of a pool and the opening of a tower, on the top of which two unfortunate creatures are broken upon the wheel. Some nude humans are trying to escape by climbing down the wall. Little black silhouettes are visible at the doors, the pool, the staircase; others carry the old or wounded. A boat steered by a big ferryman, containing four little guests, gliding across the dark water looks almost like Charon's boat conducting the souls to the realm of Hades. There is another larger boat in the distance carrying people fleeing from the flames toward safety.

Possibly the same contrast expressed in the background is reflected also in the two sleeping women. The one, seen *en face*, seems to sleep peacefully while the other one could be tortured by some nightmare or bad dream. Wickhoff⁴ came closest to the true interpretation of the dream-representation, even though the portion in the Servius Commentary to Virgil's *Aeneid* iii.12, of the dream of the two vestal priestesses which he refers to, could hardly have been the immediate literary source for Giorgione. Servius ad Virgilium *Aen.* iii.12: ". . . nam cum ambae virgines in templo deorum Lavinii simul dormirent, ea

quae minus casta erat fulmine exanimatur, alteram nihil sensisse." There are many differences in details between Marcantonio's engraving and Servius' text: the two maidens do not sleep in a temple, there is no lightning, killing one of them; the inferno-phantasy is not backed by the text. Anyway, the subject of the engraving must be some analogous myth which has still to be identified.

As for the background in Marcantonio's engraving, the nearest analogy is presented by the so-called "Burrasca Infernale" or *Vascello del Diavolo*, the large painting in the Scuola di San Marco in Venice.⁵ It represents St. Mark, St. George and St. Nicolas saving Venice from the demons. Although the painting, as we see it today, shows the brushwork of Palma Vecchio (who in 1513 became a *confratello* of the Scuola Grande di San Marco) and in some parts of Paris Bordone, the existence of Marcantonio's engraving gives weight to the old tradition (since Vasari 1550) which connects Giorgione's name with the origin of that composition. Evidently the large picture had been finished only after 1520, but its beginning must date back before 1510, the time in which Giorgione gave the model drawing for the extremely important engraving of *Raphael's Dream* to Marcantonio.

The second of Marcantonio's Venetian engravings is *The Young Woman Watering a Plant* (Fig. 5) (Bartsch 383, Delaborde 179). The attitude and the drapery recall both Giorgione's *Judith* in the Hermitage, and the standing woman in the *Fête Champêtre* in the Louvre. The engraving is closer to the *Judith*, that is to a painting which is undoubtedly Giorgione's work. Although there exist very few fixed dates in the chronology of Giorgione's works, it seems almost certain that the *Judith* was painted before 1506. The allegorical figure in Marcantonio's engraving shows a greater maturity and could be taken as the reproduction of a drawing of Giorgione's latest years. The popularity of this composition is emphasized by the fact that Giovanni Antonio da Brescia has copied Marcantonio's engraving.⁶

The Giorgionesque character of Marcantonio's allegorical figure has been recognized by H. Delaborde as well as by G. M. Richter⁷ who discussed also the iconographical question. Richter quoted Cesare Ripa's *Iconologia* (1603) where one of the *Artes Liberales*, the *Grammatica*, is described as "a woman watering a plant." According to Ridolfi (1648) a figure of the *Primavera* (Allegory of Spring), painted by Giorgione at the façade of Casa Soranzo at San Polo showed a woman holding flowers in her hand. Marcantonio's engraving could hardly be connected with the *Primavera*. But its very subject



Fig. 6. MARCANTONIO, *Raphael's Dream* (engraving)



Fig. 7. MARCANTONIO, *The Landscape with the Three Doctors* (engraving)



Fig. 8. MARCANTONIO, *St. Jerome* (engraving)



Fig. 9. GIULIO CAMPAGNOLA, *Christ and the Woman of Samaria* (engraving)

recurs in a drawing preserved in the Victoria and Albert Museum which represents a nude female figure accompanied by two *putti* watering a plant. Furthermore it should be mentioned that Marcantonio Michiel mentions a miniature painting by Giulio Campagnola, owned by the poet Pietro Bembo in Padua: "Una nuda che dá acqua ad un albero, tratta dal Diana, con dui puttini, che zappano." (A nude woman watering a tree, copied after Diana, with two digging *putti*.)

There exist in Marcantonio's *oeuvre* some more engravings which are to be called Giorgionesque. There is, for instance, *The Landscape with the Three Doctors* (Fig. 7) (Bartsch 404, Delaborde 212). Here not only the three seated men, but also the trees and the stylization of the foliage remind us of the Master of Castelfranco.

The engraving of a *Portrait of the Lute-Player Philotheo* (Bartsch 469)⁸ represents a very strange case. The figure corresponds in reverse in its attitude with the lute-player in Giorgione's *Allegory* in the National Gallery, London. We get the impression that Marcantonio could have used this figure for his engraving, changing only the arms because he had to take the mirror reversal of the right and left hand into consideration. Certainly, without this formal similarity, we would hesitate to connect the *Philotheo* portrait with Marcantonio's Venetian period. If, as is generally assumed, the sitter is Philotheo Achillini, the poet, all biographical data point to Bologna. Here, in 1466, Philotheo was born, here he founded in 1511 the Accademia del Viridario. He had spent some years, before 1500, in Lombardy, at the Court of Giangaleazzo Sforza and Lodovico Moro. Anyway, he may have been in Venice also.

Some other engravings by Marcantonio contain Venetian elements. Let us concentrate our attention on one composition which is one of the most illuminating ones. The *St. Jerome* (Fig. 8) (Bartsch 102, Delaborde 88), is no longer Giorgionesque.⁹ But we would not doubt that here the engraver has reproduced with scrupulous care a drawing given him by the young Titian. This piece is remarkable for several reasons. The type of St. Jerome records a painting, the half-figure of an Apostle reading in his book, in Conte Contini Bonacossi's collection in Florence, which has been attributed to the young Titian by Roberto Longhi. As for the motive of the landscape we are reminded of Giulio Campagnola's engraving *Christ and the Woman of Samaria* (Fig. 9). In both pieces we see at the right, in the first plane, a thick trunk of a tree and in the background the lagoon of Venice with an island in the distance. Everybody will agree that Marcantonio has reproduced his model more accurately

and more carefully than Campagnola. It is not exaggeration to say that these two engravings contain the first *Vedute* of the Venetian Lagoon which are known to us. Both engravings must be dated at the latest in the years 1509 to 1510. Both of them evidently reproduce drawings by Titian. It is well known that the great painter in later years had inserted analogous *Vedute* in some of his paintings, as for instance in the altarpiece, dated 1520, in Ancona (Fig. 10) and in *La Fede* in the Ducal Palace in Venice (Fig. 11). But it is important to know that already, when he was a very young man of about twenty years, he inaugurated a first impulse for a speciality in Venetian painting which, centuries later, was so gloriously developed in the art of Antonio Canal and Francesco Guardi.

As for Marcantonio's art, one fact becomes evident from the above mentioned engravings: the man who had been Francia's pupil in Bologna, who later was to become Raphael's interpreter in Rome, shows at the same time a wonderful understanding of the works of the most prominent Venetian painters who were active there during his sojourn. We are deeply indebted to the great engraver for an essential enrichment of our knowledge of both, Giorgione as well as the young Titian.

¹ As for the history of this picture we know that years ago it was in the Filippi collection in Paris.

² It is a well-known fact that there exist some miniature-like portraits by Raphael which are extremely rare. One of these is the *Portrait of a Nobleman* in Mrs. Edsel Ford's collection in Detroit (Fig. 4).

³ Vte Henry Delaborde, *Marc Antonio Raimondi*, Paris, s.a., 1887.

⁴ F. Wickhoff, *Jahrbuch der Kgl. Preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, XVI, 1895.

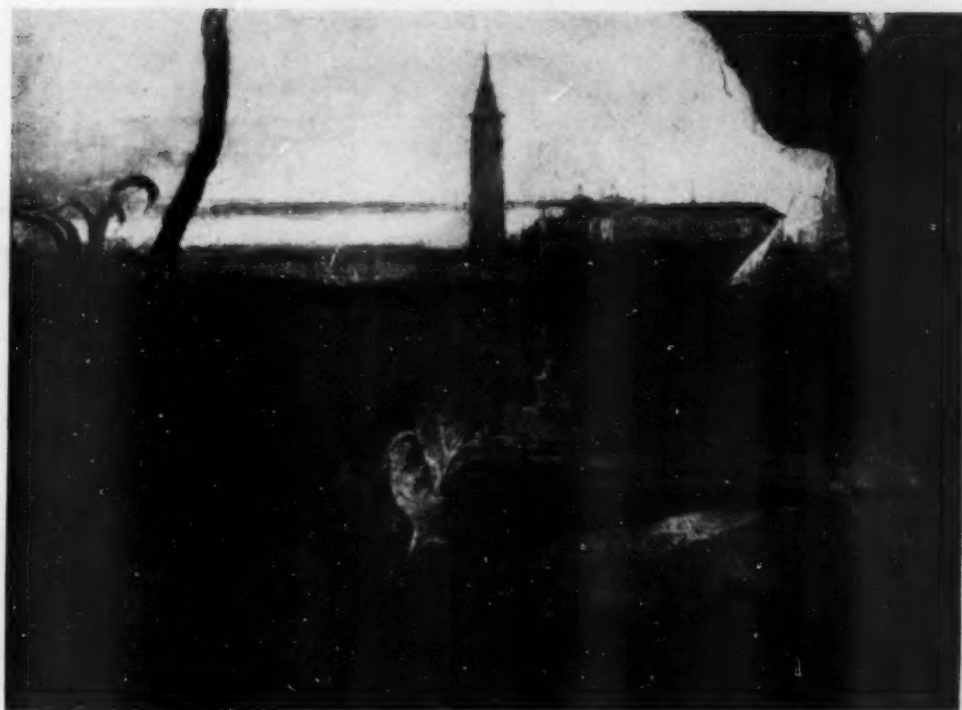
⁵ Pietro Paoletti, *La Scuola Grande di San Marco*, Venice, 1929, p. 161 f.

⁶ A. M. Hind, *Catalogue of Early Italian Engravings . . . in the British Museum*, London, 1910, p. 369, No. 16.

⁷ G. M. Richter, *Giorgio da Castelfranco, called Giorgione*, Chicago, 1937, p. 259.

⁸ Delaborde 232; *Great Engravers*, Edited by A. M. Hind: "Marcantonio," London, 1912, pl. XI.

⁹ A. M. Hind, *ibid.*, pl. XIV, rightly noted: "The landscape suggested by some Venetian original."



*Fig. 10. TITIAN, Altarpiece of the Virgin appearing to
Saints Francis and Blaise and a donor (detail)
Ancona, Municipal Museum*



*Fig. 11. TITIAN, La Fede (detail)
Venice, Ducal Palace*



*Fig. 1. MORRIS GRAVES, In the Air
Detroit, W. R. Valentiner*



*Fig. 2. MORRIS GRAVES, Sandpipers
New York, Alfred H. Barr, Jr.*

MORRIS GRAVES

By W. R. VALENTINER

OUR whole existence has been weighed down by the horrors of war to such a degree that we have forgotten how necessary to the balance of our life is the aspect of untouched nature, of nature unaware of and unconcerned with human struggle. There is only one thing that can save man from himself—his contact with nature. When we look up from our work at a bright moment nothing grips our heart more than a glimpse of the splendor of her colors and her forms, than the awareness of the power of her growth. It does not need to be a glance into the crater of a Mount Vesuvius, of which one correspondent has said that compared to its indescribable power the thunder of all the armies in Italy seemed like child's play. It is sufficient to become conscious that in the beauty of a flower, in the song of a bird, there is something more wonderful than in all the mechanization of the world of which we are so proud. But we people of the cities where wars are conceived, believe this truth only if it is explained to us by the artist-prophets who with their deeper insight into nature speak so convincingly that we cannot help but listen. Morris Graves belongs to these artist-prophets of our time.

Our relation to nature is very different from that of former generations. Probably they felt the moods of nature as deeply as we do, but from their art, literature and music it would seem that they enjoyed more than we to dramatize themselves in connection with nature's stormy aspects. In Winslow Homer's late paintings like *The Gulf Stream* and *Shooting the Rapids*, in the recently revived stories *Jane Eyre* and *Wuthering Heights* by the Brontës, or in Wagner's music, the strongest point in the picture is always man struggling against his fate and throwing himself with dramatic passion against the opposing forces of nature. There is a tendency of self-conscious elation towards grandeur which seems to us often theatrical and untruthful. It is as if this period was peaceful enough in its outer life to allow the individual to consider himself with his sorrow as the center of the world and to permit his own passions to run loose like wild dogs.

We today are far from interested in opposing nature. We would prefer to lose our individuality in her immensity and by attaching ourselves to her mysterious life become part of her cosmic rhythm. A few great poets and painters of the last generation, recognized in their importance only after their death, such as Rilke and Klee, were the forerunners of this conception of

nature, but now it is felt everywhere by the younger generation. It would be easy to give examples from literature as well as from art. I shall mention only three, one from an English, one from an American and one from a German writer living in America.

In Rex Warner's *Return of the Traveller* (1942) the ghost of the dead soldier sees a young couple standing on a river bank in the rays of the setting sun at the moment when a kingfisher, like a flying jeweled dart, flashes before them. It appeared to him that "they regarded this phenomenon of nature, this flying bird as some kind of mystery or sacrament whose appearance filled them with wonder and delight, binding them even more closely together than heretofore."

Frederic Prokosch in *The Conspirators* (1943) describes how a prisoner, after a long and painful internment, escapes from prison. What a dramatic expression a Victorian writer might have given to this exultant moment in the life of his hero! Here we hear nothing of his elation of mind but witness with the enchanted prisoner the beautiful spectacle of a colorful butterfly resting in the street in sunlight, slowly opening his wings and flying up into the blue sky. "How could anyone dream of defiling those minutes from which even the insects extracted their full delight? . . . I too have just escaped from a chrysalis. I too have a few hours of liberty before me."

In a novel by Joachim Maass, *The Magic Year* (1944), the writer watches from a little wooden house on a New England hilltop the swirling snows which separated him from the outside world. "Perhaps the snow is itself creative, inducive to both imagination and memory." (Quoted from a review by Marguerite Young, *New York Times Book Review*, December 31, 1944.) "This snow that blows about my house seems illimitable, this grayish-black mad eddying without pause—not only as if all celestial bodies had been dissolved in it, but as if day and night too had fallen together within it, and as if there were again only the nebulous gloom that held sway before the land was separated from the waters and light from dark, a world before creation, and before the beginning of time."

Such symbolic and mystic conceptions of nature in her tranquil, most intimate aspect seems characteristic of the writers of our time, just as Morris Graves' compositions could not be imagined at any other period than the present. This explains the remarkable echo which his messages—written on thin paper with light brushes and sure strokes—have found among those who are sensitive to the spiritual tendencies in our time. When his work was first

sent from Seattle to New York by Miss Dorothy Miller of the Museum of Modern Art, it created an excitement among the members of the staff of this museum, which acquired at once a number of his paintings. The appreciation in Detroit was slower. The first exhibition there, still near to the beginning of the war, was scarcely noticed by anyone with the exception of a few enthusiastic artists who took photographs of most of the paintings, and a few others who opposed it violently, as usually happens when something original is in the growing. But in the spring of last year when a distant feeling of coming peace was in the air, the mind of the people suddenly opened with an astonishing response when they were again shown Graves' paintings in the annual American exhibition. They were captured first by the vivid description of the life of the birds which seemed to follow a tradition in the art of America where wild nature is nearer to human beings than in Europe, an interest shown by early settlers in pictures of birds and flowers and developed to a height in Audubon's prints.

But it was soon felt that there was more than the precise observation of these early products, that here was an art in which the deep experience of a nation was expressed in a mystic philosophy of symbolic forms akin to Far Eastern art.

There is no art which can develop by neglecting entirely the achievements of past centuries. The influence of Eastern art seems most natural in a part of America where the landscape is closely related to the East—the coast line of Washington where Graves lives, with its mountain peaks enshrouded in mists, its pine forests and quiet lakes containing small rocky islands. Although the medium the artist uses is somewhat similar to Chinese and Japanese paintings, his style is far from being imitative. That the artist tries to express the essential with as few strokes as possible, is common not only to Eastern but also to great Western painters. The subjective, emotional quality of Graves' paintings is Western. They have nothing of what appears to us as restraint and calculation in many of the Far Eastern paintings which are bound by certain formulas of a thousand-year-old tradition. They are young and direct in expression like the character of the nation to which they belong and they are essentially modern.

Modern is their conception of space, their rhythm, their expression of movement. The theme of the painting (it may be contained in the shape of a bird or any other living creature, of a flower or of an abstract form) is communicated to us with unusual intensity by placing the main motif in the center of the foreground and surrounding it at the same time with an immense space

which opens towards all sides opposing any kind of frame. This motif is in itself as if space had become concrete for a moment, like the substance of the nebula in the starry sky, which at any time may disappear again in space as suddenly as it came. Its body, balanced between heaven and earth, born out of darkness or mist, will dissolve again as soon as it has served its function; its soul is part of the eternal forces in nature which are reflected in the strange staring eyes of the creatures represented.

It is as if the artist was able to transform himself into the soul of the animal and see with its eyes, not with ours. The fish coming out of the dark stream sees the light waterfall in brilliantly reflected rainbow colors. Birds meeting in the air (Fig. 1) feel their wings extended into crystalline forms. The wounded seagull (Fig. 4) drags her body through the shallow water leaving behind a trail of blood and expressing in her sad yet fearless eyes that again she will soon be one with the vast infinite forms of ocean and sky out of which her life was created.

Without our modern understanding of the movement of bodies through the air, a conception so detached from the heaviness of the earth could not have been possible. The rhythmic motion also, as expressed in Graves' paintings, is like modern rhythmic music characteristic of our time. The repetition of feet in walking birds, of beaks in woodpecking flickers, the procession through the night of strange creatures which vary in form but move continuously in the same direction, are examples of the same rhythmic ideas. Of rare beauty is the composition *Shorebirds in Moonlight*, which leads in a rhythmic stream from one side to the other in a diagonal direction. In trembling waves the moonlight flashes over birds who here and there curiously thrust forth their heads, bathing them in silvery sprays of water.

These formal ideas in composition and rhythm would not be interesting in themselves unless connected with an art of highly imaginative, poetical value. To think of a theme like *Blind Bird Singing in Moonlight* (Fig. 3) or *Procession of Little Sounds* and to represent it convincingly, needs not only a painter but also a poet. Here is, indeed, something in common with the early Chinese painters, where painter and poet are one and where the title of the painting is important for the understanding of the theme. But here we also have parallels in Western art, in Blake and Klee, for instance. This does not mean the illustration of a story as in nineteenth century art but the expression of an idea of mystic content.

For this reason Graves' paintings are often scenes of the night when sight

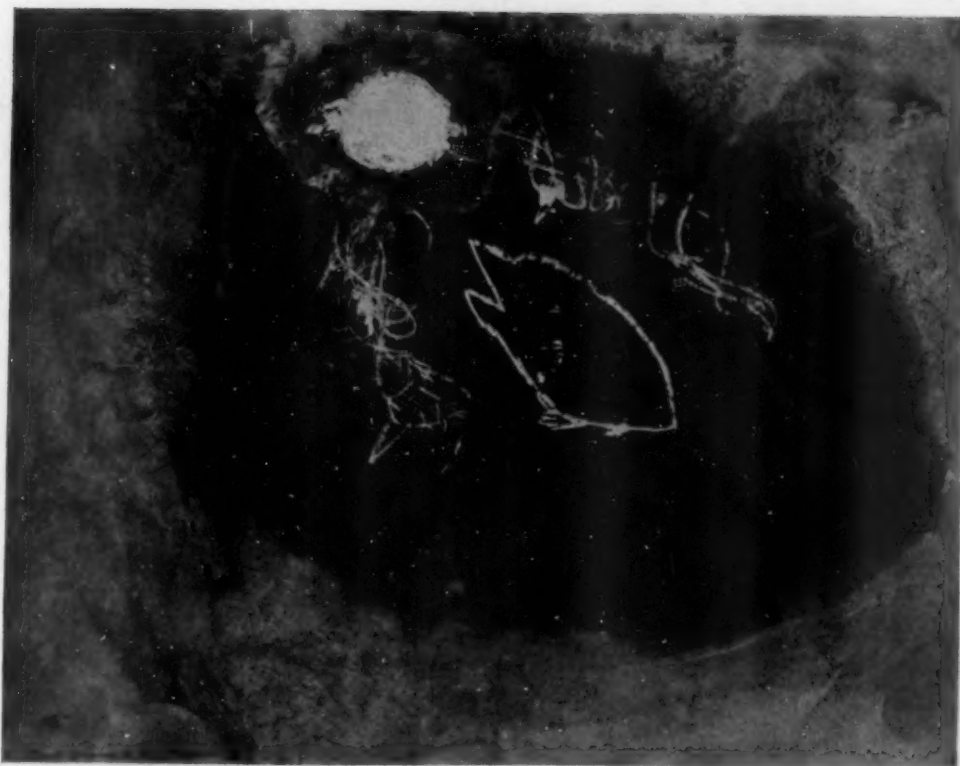


Fig. 3. MORRIS GRAVES, *Blind Bird Singing in Moonlight*
New York, Dorothy C. Miller



Fig. 4. MORRIS GRAVES, *Wounded Seagull*
Detroit, Robert H. Tannabill

and sound take on a different and deeper meaning. If man is driven to despair, no longer able to understand the actions of his fellowmen, he finds an answer to his questions in the darkness of the night when he stands in awe before the vast forms of earth and heaven. Being aware that there are things between heaven and earth that are far greater than wars and worries he is drawn into their orbit as a child into the arms of his mother and lifted to higher spheres.

Thus Graves tells us of the wonders of the night, of the strange sounds piercing its quietness, of the anxious shrieking of wild birds engulfed by dense fog, of the sweetness of the song of small birds in clear moonlight, of the immovable shape of the old owl in whose dreamy eyes the wisdom of thousands of years of man's history is reflected. Only the pure artist who listens constantly to the sounds of nature can recognize her soul. Morris Graves who lives as a solitary in the density of a virgin forest, has the sensitive ear to perceive these tender voices and the prophetic mind to explain their meaning.

Will the future be in this art some sceptics have asked? We do not know, but we believe in it as it has helped to bring us back to ourselves in a chaotic world.

Morris Graves was born in Fox Valley, Oregon in 1910. He has lived in western Washington since 1911. In 1930 he went to Japan, in 1940 to Puerto Rico. For several years he worked on the WPA Federal Art Project in Seattle. He lives alone in a remote spot on the coast near Anacortes, Washington.

His work made its first appearance in the East when an oil, The Wolf of Rome, was shown at the New York World's Fair 1939. Previously he had been represented in exhibitions at the Seattle Art Museum. In 1940 four small paintings entitled Messages were lent by the WPA Art Program for exhibition at the Museum of Modern Art, New York. His first full-length showing came two years later in the exhibition Americans 1942 at the Museum of Modern Art. Since then he has had one-man shows at the Phillips Memorial Gallery, Washington, the Arts Club of Chicago, the University Gallery, Minneapolis, and the Detroit Institute of Arts; at the Willard Gallery, New York, and the Little Gallery, Beverly Hills, California.

Paintings have been purchased by the Museum of Modern Art, the Phillips Memorial Gallery, and the Seattle Art Museum, as well as by a large number of private collectors.

DOROTHY C. MILLER

BENJAMIN TROTT, AN ACCOUNT OF HIS LIFE AND WORK

By THEODORE BOLTON

I. INTRODUCTION

The miniatures of Benjamin Trott rank with those of Edward Greene Malbone, Charles Fraser and Robert Field. However, while books have appeared on Fraser and Field and many examples of miniatures by Malbone have been reproduced and described, the material on Benjamin Trott is scattered and much less extensive. Although there is still not enough material at the present time to assemble a monograph about the artist, there is a sufficient amount of it to assemble an article and thus to indicate his importance. This is attempted in the present essay which is a survey rather than a complete investigation.

II. TROTT'S EARLY ACTIVITY — FIRST STAY IN NEW YORK, 1793-1794

As is true of the biographies of many early American artists, the life of Benjamin Trott includes a reference to William Dunlap's *History of the Rise and Progress of the Arts of Design in the United States*, published in 1834. Dunlap, who knew the artist, begins his account of Trott as follows:

Trott commenced his career, as a portrait painter in miniature, about the year 1791; which will allow us to guess that he was born not far from 1770. In 1793 he painted a good miniature head and practised successfully in New York when Gilbert Stuart arrived there from Dublin, in company with Walter Robertson. Walter Robertson was a native of Ireland; and I believe Trott first saw the light in or about Boston. Robertson's style was singular and altogether artificial; all ages and complexions were of the same hue—and yet there was a charm in his colouring that pleased, in despite of taste. Trott's manner was more in the old way and more natural. Robertson was employed very much in copying Stuart's portraits; and with his colouring and with Stuart's characteristic likenesses, he was at the pinnacle of fame for a time. Stuart did not like that another, with another set of colours, should be mounted above him; and for that reason, and the more natural colouring of Trott, preferred the latter, assisted him by advice, and recommended him. — Trott's blunt and caustic manner was probably to Stuart's taste.

Notwithstanding Stuart's approbation, Trott longed to be able to imitate the colouring of Walter Robertson; and I remember to have seen in his possession one of the Irishman's miniatures, half obliterated by the Yankee's experiments, who, to dive into the secret, made his way beneath the surface like a mole, and in equal darkness.

He followed or accompanied Stuart when he removed from New York to Philadelphia; and that city was his headquarters for a great many years. His copies on ivory, with water colours, from Stuart's oil portraits, were good—one from the "Washington," extremely beautiful and true.

Who Trott's early instructors were, or whether he had any instructors, other than such as pictures and occasional contact with painters afforded, I know not. He certainly had obtained a great portion of skill before he made his appearance in New York. A well painted miniature is to me a source of delight, and some of Mr. Trott's are of great beauty.

Nothing has since appeared that may be added to this illuminating narrative and critical account of Trott's early years. Trott, then, was born about 1770, possibly at Boston; began painting miniatures about 1791; continued to paint with success in New York during 1793; and soon attracted the attention of Gilbert Stuart who had recently arrived from Dublin, and whose name appears in the New York directory as follows:

New York

1794. "Stewart, Gilbert, limner, 63 Stone Street."

Although there is no record as to the time Trott "followed or accompanied" Stuart to Philadelphia, this may be approximated from a record of Stuart's departure. On November 2, 1794, Stuart wrote from New York to his uncle Captain Joseph Anthony, Philadelphia, that he was delayed by a "smart attack of fever and Ague," but that he would be in Philadelphia "perhaps in less than three weeks. The object of my journey is only to secure a picture of the President, and to finish yours. . . ." (W. T. Whitley, *Gilbert Stuart*, p. 93.)

In the meanwhile Walter Robertson had lost no time in going to Philadelphia in order to paint a portrait of George Washington. Dunlap states in his *History*, in his notice of Walter Robertson:

He [Walter Robertson] went to Philadelphia before Stuart, and painted a portrait, in miniature, of Washington, which [Robert] Field, another miniature painter and engraver, engraved and published, with decorations by Jno. Jas. Barralet. It was altogether a failure; and so little like the General, that one might doubt his sitting for it.

III. TROTT'S FIRST STAY IN PHILADELPHIA, 1794-1797

Perhaps it was because both Field and Robertson had gone about their work much more speedily than either Stuart or Trott, that Trott felt annoyance at his competitors. In his *History* Dunlap has recorded Trott's irritation, in his brief notice of Robert Field:

Field and Robertson both annoyed Trott. Of Robertson he said, his excellence depended upon the secret he possessed—the chemical composition with



Fig. 1



Fig. 2



Fig. 3



Fig. 4

Fig. 1. James Abercrombie, engraved by DAVID EDWIN after the miniature by BENJAMIN TROTT; Fig. 2. BENJAMIN TROTT, Lewis Adams—New York, Herbert L. Pratt; Fig. 3. BENJAMIN TROTT, Rebecca Biddle — New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art; Fig. 4. BENJAMIN TROTT, Nicholas Biddle—Philadelphia, Mrs. Edward Biddle.



*Fig. 5. BENJAMIN TROTT
Solomon Etting
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania
Academy of Fine Arts*



*Fig. 6. BENJAMIN TROTT, Mrs. Fox
New York, Metropolitan Museum
of Art*



Below
*Fig. 8. BENJAMIN TROTT
Mrs. James Greenleaf
(after Stuart)
Washington, D. C.
Mrs. William Allen Hayes
and Mr. Lynch Luquer*

Below
*Fig. 9. BENJAMIN TROTT
Elizabeth Alston Jervey
New York, Herbert L. Pratt*

*Fig. 7. BENJAMIN TROTT
Portrait of a Man*



which he mixed and used his colours; of Field, that his work was too much like engraving.

When Stuart finally painted his first portrait of Washington, Trott copied it in miniature. This copy, still unlocated, was engraved on steel by J. Roberts, J. B. Longacre, C. C. Wright, C. Gobrecht and G. Fairman.

Another unlocated miniature copy by Trott of an oil portrait by Stuart is mentioned in two letters written by Chief Justice Edward Shippen of Philadelphia, in a letter dated Philadelphia, January 20, 1796, to his daughter Margaret (then Mrs. Benedict Arnold) who was living in London:

I have lately, at the request of your Sister, got my picture taken by one Mr. Stewart, who is said to have been eminent in London; it is thought to be a strong likeness. I have therefore employed a Mr. Trot, a young man of talents in that way, to take a copy of it in miniature. When finished I shall embrace the first good opportunity of transmitting it to you, as I flatter myself it will be an agreeable present. (Lewis Burd Walker, "Life of Margaret Shippen, Wife of Benedict Arnold," *Pennsylvania Magazine*, XXVI (1902), p. 225.)

In a letter dated April 19, 1796, Shippen again wrote to his daughter concerning the miniature, stating that it was in the hands of Alexander Foster who was going to London and who "has been kind enough to deliver it himself."

Fortunately two of Trott's copies after Stuart's paintings have been identified. One is the excellent miniature copy of one of Stuart's four portraits of Mrs. James Greenleaf (Fig. 8). Trott's copy greatly resembles the portrait now at the Pennsylvania Academy. The other is the equally fine miniature copy after Stuart's portrait of Alexander James Dallas. The miniature copy follows the original closely except for the background, which Trott left practically unpainted.

IV. TROTT'S SECOND STAY IN NEW YORK, 1798-1799 — VISITS TO ALBANY AND PHILADELPHIA

After painting in Philadelphia until possibly the end of 1797, Trott returned to New York, where he lived for the next two or more years, except for visits to Albany and Philadelphia. He is listed in the New York directories as follows:

New York

1798. "Trott Benjamin, miniature painter, 1 Wall."

1799. "Trott Benjamin, miniature painter, 6 John."

In Dunlap's essay there are two references to Trott's activity during these

years. It was to avoid a yellow fever epidemic that the artist left New York to visit Albany and Philadelphia. Yellow fever epidemics were frequent, but the one which scourged American cities during 1798 was especially virulent. *The New York Spectator* noted September 19, 1798:

The yellow fever "now rages, in different degrees, at Newburyport — Portsmouth—Portland—Providence—Newport—New London—New York —Philadelphia and, reports state, that some of the more southern places have been visited by an epidemic. We hear no more about the sickness in Albany." (Quoted in I.N.P. Stokes, *Iconography of Manhattan*, V, p. 1356.)

Thus it may be assumed that the time of Trott's visit to Albany was in 1798 although the first reference is to "about" 1796. Trott had as a traveling companion during this visit an artist who is listed in the New York directories as follows:

New York

1794-1797. "Tisdale Elkanah, engraver, 15 New Street."

1798. "Tisdale Elkanah, miniature painter, 8 John Street."

The fact that Tisdale did not become a miniature painter until 1798 is another reason to date the visit of the two artists as taking place in 1798 rather than in 1796. In recording their visit Dunlap quotes from a "rough judge" who was a native of the "western counties":

At a time of yellow fever in New York, two miniature painters came to this city; they took a room and painted some heads. This was about the year '96. It was a novelty, and the gentlemen of Albany visited the painters and were pleased with them; and on the occasion of a ball they were getting up, they sent them tickets of invitation. Before the ball took place they had time to reflect and consult; and the result was, that a note was written to the painters to say that the gentlemen of Albany must recall the invitation, as, according to the rules, no mechanics could be admitted. (Dunlap, *History*, I, 354.)

So far no miniatures by Trott painted at this time have been identified. Nor have any miniatures painted during his visit to the environs of Philadelphia been located. Dunlap is specific in giving the time, place and circumstance of the latter visit:

We learn from Mr. David Edwin, the well-known engraver, and son of the celebrated comedian, long the delight of London, that during the yellow fever, which afflicted Philadelphia in 1798, he and Mr. Trott, the miniature painter, were neighbors to Mr. Stuart, near the Falls of the Schuylkill. (*Ibid.*, I, 242.)

The next references to Trott relate to his association with an artist who is thus listed in the New York directory:

New York

1799. "Roberts John, engraver, 10 Gold Street."

Dunlap summarizes the information concerning Trott and Roberts sent him by an unrevealed correspondent. The artists were members of a musical club, including among its other members "Charles Rhind, our first consul to the Porte," that "met in a room adjoining the Methodist Meeting House" on John Street. The club was compelled to move its quarters because the neighbors complained of the music as a public nuisance. Trott and Roberts finally quarreled. Dunlap states:

His [Roberts'] friend Trott had executed a beautiful miniature of Washington from Stuart's portrait of the hero, and Roberts engraved a plate from it, but after he had finished his work to the satisfaction of his friends, he was retouching it, when Trott came in, some misunderstanding taking place between the engraver and the painter, Roberts deliberately took up a piece of pumice and applying it to the copper obliterated all trace of his work; then taking the miniature, he handed it to its owner, saying, "There, sir—take your picture—I have done with it—and with you." A few impressions, taken as proofs, only exist. (Dunlap, *History*, II, 116.)

Proofs of this engraving have been noted by Baker, Hart and Stauffer. Hart gives the date of the engraving as 1799, which is the same year as appearance of the name of John Roberts (1768-1803) in the New York City directory, and which also dates the quarrel between Roberts and Trott. W. S. Baker notes that: "This plate was left unfinished, but not destroyed."

V. TROTT'S SECOND STAY IN PHILADELPHIA, 1804-1819 — HIS VISIT TO KENTUCKY, 1805

Nothing is known of Trott's activity between the years 1800 and 1803. Possibly he returned to Philadelphia during the latter part of 1803, because he came in time for his name to be included in the directory of the next year as follows:

Philadelphia

1804. "Trott Benjamin, miniature painter, 231 Mulberry."

The next year Trott went to Kentucky. Dunlap notes in his *History*:

In 1805 Mr. Trott visited the Western World beyond the mountains, traveling generally on horseback, with the implements of his art in his saddle bags. This was a lucrative journey.

To the Americans of Trott's day the term "Western World" meant western Pennsylvania and Kentucky, the state beyond the Allegheny Mountains. Two miniatures of this period are of the brothers Charles Wilkins and William Wilkins. Charles Wilkins was a resident of Lexington, Kentucky.

For the next seventeen years Trott's activity is fairly well documented by William Dunlap, who met the artist in 1806 and recorded later meetings in his diary. Dunlap continues:

He returned to Philadelphia in 1806, at which time I was there with my friend Charles Brockden Brown; and I became somewhat intimate with Trott, and pleased with the pungency of his remarks and amused by the eccentricity of his manners. At this time his reputation was at its height, and he might have commanded more employment than he did, but he was visited by a most mischievous notion, a disease of the mind, which occasionally affects painters — this was the firm conviction that some vehicle had been discovered for conveying colours to the ivory, which gave force, clearness, and every good quality; but that it was kept a secret by those who used it, and gave great advantages to certain colourists. . . . I must, however acknowledge, that by his distillations and filterings he produced some of the clearest pigments that ever I used; and he bestowed upon me all the necessary colours for miniatures.

In 1806 he justly considered that he had nothing to fear from my rivalry—he would not have been so liberal towards Malbone. The fame of this young painter annoyed Trott, for he had none of that feeling which rejoices at a rival's success, nor of that self-confidence which perhaps causes the generous sensation. Malbone proposed an exchange of specimens with him probably to show the different manner by which two eminently successful artists arrived at their respective excellence. But Trott considered and denounced it, as an insidious mode of comparison with his own: forgetting, that if such an advantage could be taken by one, it was equally in the power of the other.

Although the technique of the miniatures of Edward Greene Malbone (1777-1807) and that of the miniatures of Benjamin Trott differ considerably, some of their miniatures have been confused. On the other hand no one would ever confuse the work of William Dunlap with that of Trott, because Dunlap's miniatures are frequently second rate.

William Dunlap (1766-1839) had been a portrait painter, playwright, and theatrical manager before he was declared bankrupt in 1805. He then became an itinerant miniature painter, so that Trott's friendship and technical aid at this time must have been invaluable to him. Dunlap wrote of Trott in a letter to his wife, printed in his *Diary*:

Phil [adelphia] Monday Jany 6th 1806. . . . Trot [t] finds sufficient employment here, & has raised his price from 30 to 40 dolls. he is a man of genius, with eccentricities; has misspent much of his time, but is inclined to make the most of the remainder; he has shown me some little things, since I have been here, of consequence in the mechanical, or preparatory part of the art.

After his return from Kentucky, Trott lived in Philadelphia for twelve years.

For the next two years his name appears in the Philadelphia directories as follows:

Philadelphia

1806. "Trott Benjamin, miniature painter, 231 Mulberry."

1807. "Trott Benjamin, miniature painter, corner Sixth and Minor."

Two of Trott's miniatures may be assigned to this period: one of Peregrine Wroth, the other of James Williams. The miniature of Wroth is inscribed on the back in the sitter's handwriting:

Peregrine Wroth by Mr. Trott Sansom . . . Philadelphia Anno Domini
1806.

The obliterated word is, obviously "street." It was on Sansom Street that Trott was soon to share quarters with Thomas Sully (1783-1872). In writing of this period in Sully's life Dunlap notes:

At this time of ebb tide (or rather low water) at New York, Benjamin Wilcox, of Philadelphia, invited Sully to that Metropolis, and thither he removed with his large and increasing family. Mr. Trott, the miniature painter, was then in full practice in Philadelphia, and conjointly with him, Sully took a house in the month of February, 1809. (Dunlap, *History*, II, 252.)

A more precise record of this association is revealed in extracts from Sully's unpublished journal for the years 1809 and 1810. For a while Sully was in England. He left Philadelphia, June 12, 1809; arrived at London, July 18; spent the winter there; and returned to Philadelphia, April 16, 1810, and again shared quarters with Trott. Sully notes:

Sarah with the advice of Mr. Trott engaged a house in Sansom Street, \$400.00 pr. an., rent commenced March 26. Mr. Trott came to reside with us in April. . . . Mr. Trott refunded Sarah for cash I paid out for him in London. (J. H. Morgan, *Gilbert Stuart and his Pupils*, p. 38.)

A miniature of this period is the little portrait, still unlocated, of Dr. Abercrombie. Possibly it was painted during the time that Dr. Abercrombie was sitting for his portrait to Thomas Sully, started August 12, and finished September 12, 1810 according to Biddle and Fielding, *Thomas Sully*, no. 1. An amusing incident concerning this sitting is recorded by Dunlap:

When he [Dr. Abercrombie] was adjusting himself to the fatal chair, the painter [Sully] inquired, "How much time can you give me doctor?" "I'll sit as long as you please," was the reply. "I can paint all day." "And I can sit all day." By and by, Trott came in, but finding a sitter, retired. After the longest time he had ever known or heard of for the operation, he returned, found the doctor on the same spot, and withdrew. He came a third time, after a still longer interval, and there sat the doctor, who saluted him with,

"Well Mr. Trott, don't you think I'm a good sitter?" "Good," said Trott, "Yes, indeed. You set like an old hen." (Dunlap, *History*, II, 266.)

What makes it even more likely that Trott painted his miniature of the Doctor during this year is the fact that it was engraved and appeared in the *Portfolio* for 1810 (Fig. 1). Another miniature of this period is of Benjamin Chew Wilcocks (1776-1845) (Fig. 11).

There are numerous entries in Dunlap's *Diary* to his meetings with Trott in 1811. By that year Dunlap had returned to his work as a theatrical manager and was touring with the actor George Frederick Cooke, who was accompanied by his valet Sam. During his spare time in Philadelphia, and when he was not keeping the irresponsible actor to his schedule, Dunlap frequently visited his friends Trott and Sully. The following entries appear in Dunlap's *Diary*:

Thursday the 21st March [1811] I visited Trot & Sully, and passd some minutes at Mr. S. Levy's.

Sunday mornng Mar: 31st. Cook dont get up to breakfast. Sam says that he dont appear so well this morning. . . . call on Trott who says Waterman brot C [ooke] to his room last Thursday eveng & wanted to go to Fennells supper, that he declined, that Fairman went only in hope of preventing mischief, that Cooke invited Waterman & Fairman to dine with him today. . . . Afternoon Trot, Sully & Waterman drop in. All quiet & pleasant.

Apl. 4th. . . . After dinner Trot, [Gideon] Fairman & Waterman drop in: pleasant chat.

Apl. 6th. . . . The other day when Holland & Trot were sittg with us Holland said to Cooke "Cooper expects to see you in New York by such a day according to appointment." "He'll see me, but not on the boards."

Monday Apl 8th Up at 1/2 past 6 & walk with Sully & Trott.

[April] 16th. . . . Call on Trot & go to [David] Edwins to see drawings of Cooke, Jefferson & Blisset by a youth [Charles Robert] Leslie attach'd to [Samuel F.] Bradford's store.

During this time Trott was a member of an artistic group called the Society of Artists which combined with the members of the Pennsylvania Academy, beginning with the year 1811, in holding exhibitions, and Trott exhibited at the first four annual displays. His record, taken from the exhibition catalogues, is:

The First Annual Exhibition of the Society of Artists and the Pennsylvania Academy, 1811:

No. 505. Port. of a British Officer. B. Trott, F.S.A.

No. 506. Port. of a Gentleman. B. Trott, F.S.A.

No. 507. Port. of a Gentleman. B. Trott, F.S.A.

Benjamin Trott-Miniature Painter, 75 Locust St., Philadelphia.

The Second Annual Exhibition of the Society of Artists and the Pennsylvania Academy, 1812:

No. 133. A Frame containing four miniatures. B. Trott, F.S.A.

The Third Annual Exhibition of the Columbian Society of Artists and the Pennsylvania Academy, 1813:

No. 110. A Frame containing four miniatures. B. Trott, A.C.S.A.

The Fourth Annual Exhibition of the Columbian Society of Artists and the Pennsylvania Academy, 1814:

No. 295. Miniature of a Lady. B. Trott.

No. 296. Miniature of a Gentleman. B. Trott.

Mr. Joseph T. Fraser, Jr., who compiled the foregoing record, notes in a letter: "It is quite disconcerting to see that the names of none of the sitters are mentioned." At all events the miniatures attracted attention. In his review of "The Second Annual Exhibition of the Society of Artists and the Pennsylvania Academy," *Portfolio*, July 1812, a critic signing himself "G.M." praised Trott's work as follows:

No. 133, is a frame containing four miniatures by B. Trott, which although small in size, are notwithstanding large as regards their intrinsic merit. The works of this excellent artist are justly esteemed for truth and elegance of expression. In examining his miniatures, we perceive all the force and effect of the best oil painting and it is but fair to remark, that Mr. Trott is purely an American—he has never been either in Paris or London, and we venture to say, that his pictures are equal to any, and superior to most, that we have seen painted in either of those cities, and we do not hesitate to assert, that as far as respects likeness, dignity of character, expression and harmony of colouring, the pictures of Trott, approach nearer to the exquisite productions of Stuart, than those of any other artist in America.

In his review of "The Third Annual Exhibition of the Columbian Society of Artists and the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts," *Portfolio*, August, 1813, a critic signing himself "M," presumably the same critic who signed himself "G.M.," in the magazine the year before, began his review of Trott's work then on display as follows:

Portraits of a lady and gentleman (no numbers affixed)—B. Trott. The character of Mr. Trott as a first-rate miniature painter, has been long established....

The reviewer then takes a newspaper critic to task about a recent criticism of Trott's work. The newspaper critic after praising Trott's work had concluded that: "After all . . . this branch of painting is so petty, so like tea cup painting," which prompted the critic "M" to write on for three pages in defense of miniature painting.

Besides receiving this local praise, Trott's ability was recognized outside of

Philadelphia. William T. Whitley in his biography of Gilbert Stuart quotes a notice of Trott published in the *Weekly Messenger*, Boston. The date of this quotation is not given, but the *Weekly Messenger* began publication in October, 1811, and was issued for a few years only under that title so that the quotation probably appeared during 1811-1813. The critic noted that:

Mr. Trott may be called the untutored child of art, having drawn his powers entirely from his own genius. He, indeed, in later life, has had the opportunity of studying under Stuart, and his diploma awarded by that great master is that he is "the best and closest imitator that has ever attempted to copy him."

While Trott was an active member of the Society of Artists, Sully, on the other hand, was one of the directors of the Pennsylvania Academy, and a dissension that arose between the two groups threatened the friendship between the two artists. Dunlap tells the story in his account of Trott:

Mr. Sully, who long knew Trott, says that he was in all things extremely sensitive; and in many things generous and truly right minded. When Sully returned from Europe, in 1810, he again took a house in conjunction with Trott. But during the violence of the opposition made by the associated artists to the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts, led by Murray, Trott spoke harshly of Sully, because, being a director of the Academy, he did not join the association in their opposition.

Although Trott was an established artist it is strange that none of his little portraits has come to light that may definitely be assigned to any of these years. But the record of residence is clear. The following entries are taken from the Philadelphia directories:

Philadelphia

- 1813. "Trott Benjamin, miniature painter 7 Little George."
- 1814. "Trott Benjamin, miniature painter 7 Little George."
- 1817. "Trott Benjamin, miniature painter 26 Little George."
- 1818. "Trott Benjamin, miniature painter 26 Little George."
- 1819. "Trott Benjamin, miniature painter 165 Chestnut."

This ends the record of Trott's second stay in Philadelphia. He left the city some time in the autumn of 1819.

VI. TROTT'S LATER YEARS: NORFOLK, CHARLESTON, 1819-1820; PHILADELPHIA, 1820; NEWARK, 1823; NEW YORK, 1829-1833; BOSTON, 1833; BALTIMORE, 1838-1841

Trott must have left Philadelphia some time before October 20, 1819,



Fig. 10. BENJAMIN TROTT
Mrs. Alexander N. Macomb
The New-York Historical Society



Fig. 11. BENJAMIN TROTT, Benjamin Chew Wilcocks
Tuxedo Park, New York, Mrs. Norvin H. Green



*Fig. 12. BENJAMIN TROTT, Colonel A. Lewis Bingamon
Tuxedo Park, New York, Mrs. Norvin H. Green*



*Fig. 13. BENJAMIN TROTT, Jane Stone
Washington, D. C., National Collection of
Fine Arts*



*Fig. 14. BENJAMIN TROTT, John Woods Poinier
Rhode Island School of Design, Museum of Art*

because of an entry William Dunlap made in his *Diary* on that day. The entry, and others that follow, read:

Norfolk

Octr 20th [1819]. . . . See Trott who is about starting for Savannah & Charleston, he is starving in Phila. . . .

[November] 19th. . . . Trott is at Charleston, S. C. & his prospects bad. . . .

Sunday [April] 9th [1820]. . . . Evg. at Crawley's. Shaw came in, just return'd from Savannah, Augusta, &c and represents the South as a paradise of riches . . . Trott he says got nothing to do in Charleston, Shields a great deal.

Dunlap continues this record in his *History*:

He returned to Philadelphia, and was generally found there until he made a mysterious marriage; and not having the effrontery to announce as "Mrs. Trott," a person whose origin he was ashamed of, he, after suffering for some time, took refuge in New Jersey, whose laws offered him a release in consequence of a limited term of residence, and he resided for some years in obscurity at Newark.

Two of Trott's miniatures painted in Newark during 1823 have been identified. One, painted on a rectangle of ivory, is of the attractive Mrs. Macomb (Fig. 10). The other is the oval miniature of John Woods Poinier (Fig. 14). These two miniatures are the latest known miniatures painted by Trott. It is true that the striking little portrait of Lewis Adams (Fig. 2) has an inscription written on paper and inserted into the back of the frame which reads: "Lewis Adams Septemr 1828 by B. Trott." However, this inscription must have been inserted much later than the time of painting because the costume of the sitter is more nearly that of 1810 than that of 1828.

From 1824 to 1828 there is another gap in the chronology of Trott's life. He next appears in New York where he was to reside for the next five years and where, according to the directories, he had the following addresses.

New York

1829-1830. "Trott Benj., portrait & miniature painter 15 Pine. up stairs."

1830-1831. "Trott Benjamin, portrait & miniature painter 21 Arcade."

1831-1832. "Trott Benjamin, portrait & min. painter 40 Arcade."

1832-1833. "Trott Benjamin, portrait & min. painter 40 Arcade."

Writing of this period of Trott's life Dunlap states:

He did not return to Philadelphia, where his business and reputation had suffered, but removed to New York; and his miniatures having become poor, and appearing poorer in comparison with those of younger artists, he tried oil portraits with no success. He painted a few oil portraits in New York; but although he had enjoyed intimately the opportunity of studying with Stuart, and was an enthusiastic admirer of his manner, nothing could be more unlike Stuart's portraits than those painted by Trott.

After remaining in New York some years, rather in obscurity, generally shunning his acquaintance, he went to Boston, probably his native place, in the year 1833, after an absence of perhaps more than forty years.

In 1833 Dunlap was corresponding industriously for information to include in his *History of the Arts of Design in the United States*, and in reply to inquiries concerning Trott he received a letter from a correspondent in Philadelphia, a portion of which he quoted in his *Diary*:

New York, 1833. Saty [May] 11th Clouds. . . . Receive letter from J. McMurtrie . . . Of Trott he speaks harshly "he drew badly & knew nothing of the anatomy of the *head* which was all he had to do with. I have by me several of his miniatures a disgrace to any man who painted them. . . ."

Trott was already in Boston by the time that Dunlap began writing his essay on the artist for his *History*, as he noted in his *Diary*:

Thursday [July] 8th [1834] Clear. . . . Finish biography of Malbone. Begin Trott. 4 PM. Th: [ermometer] 88. Suffer from heat & indigestion. The heat is said to be in the shade out of doors Th: 96.

Under these unfavorable conditions Dunlap began his essay as follows:

Mr. Trott is one of the few artists who have shrunk from rendering me that assistance which even a few dates would give in raising, what I hope and believe will be a monument to the arts of America.

But in spite of heat, illness and a lack of co-operation on Trott's part, Dunlap treated the artist handsomely in his essay from which numerous extracts have been made. In 1834, when Dunlap published his book, Trott was living at the following address according to the Boston directory:

Boston

1834. "Trott, Benj. B. [*sic*] miniature painter, 3 Scollay's buildings."

How long the artist lived here is not known. He is next heard of in Baltimore where he was apparently well established in 1838 according to an article discovered by Dr. J. Hall Pleasants entitled "Baltimore Artists," appearing in *The Monument*, Baltimore, Saturday, July 28, 1838, p. 343. The article, transcribed by Dr. Pleasants, follows:

In an article which appeared in the Baltimore American a few days since, we find very favorable mention made of several of the artists of this city, but we looked over it in vain for the names of B. Trott, esq., and Miss Peale. We regard Mr. Trott as one of the first artists in the country; he is not only a painter, but an artist in every sense of the term, he seems to know his business as well in its anatomy as in its chemistry, not only in the tact of mingling colors, which tact too often attracts the eye, and diverts attention from the deeper and more scientific departments of the art. The Baltimore American, in referring to a few of the artists of this city, ranks Mr. [William E.] West among the foremost, and speaks of him as being considered abroad as the

worthy successor of the great American artist, the author of "Death on the Pale Horse." We are somewhat surprised at so extraordinary a compliment from the scientific editor of the American, the more so, perhaps, because of our having seen nothing of a historical character from Mr. West's pencil—in fact we have seen nothing but his portraits, and if we may be allowed to offer a critical contrast between him and Mr. Trott in this line, we should say that Mr. Trott's specimens exhibit the artist—Mr. West's the painter, who exposes more of the glare of colors than a deep study of his profession, and that there is no comparison in point of merit between their works. Mr. Trott, it is true, confines his works principally to the miniature line, but even in this different department he displays the labor of a master hand.

Commenting on this period of the artist's life Dr. Pleasants notes in a letter: "I feel quite certain that he was painting in Baltimore over a longer period than we formerly suspected. I feel pretty sure that his work here was done in two periods—the first period perhaps about 1815 or thereabouts, when he probably did miniatures of the Cohen, and Etting families (Fig. 5) and the second period when he appears to have lived in Baltimore for some little time about the years 1838-1841." The latter year is determined by an entry in the Baltimore Directory:

Baltimore

1840-41. "Trott B., portrait and miniature painter. Office cor St. Paul and Fayette Sts."

After that the name of Benjamin Trott disappears from all records thus far brought to light, so that the time and place of the artist's death, as well as the time and place of his birth, remain a mystery.

Although the chief purpose of this essay is to trace Trott's activity as an artist, it may be of interest to conclude with Dunlap's estimate of Trott's character and his brief description of the artist. Dunlap notes:

Trott was rather inclined to be caustic in his remarks upon others (especially artists), than charitable. He would introduce a bitter remark with a kind of chuckle, and "upon my soul I think," and conclude with a laugh, "I think so, upon my soul I do". . . . Of full medium height, thin, with a prepossessing countenance, Mr. Trott had qualities which ought to have led to better results.

A miniature by an unknown artist purporting to be a portrait of Trott was exhibited at the Pennsylvania Academy, 1926, no. 94, and was then owned by Mr. Ernest Parker.

VII. SOME CHARACTERISTICS OF TROTT'S MINIATURES

The following description of the various methods of miniature painting used in Trott's time is taken from the little treatise written by Thomas Seir

Cummings appearing in William Dunlap's *History*, published in 1834, which was not included in the 1918 edition:

Miniatures, as they are at present painted, are usually executed on ivory, and in transparent (water) colours, and according as the mode of application partakes of the line, the dot or smooth surface, is the style technically, termed hatch, stipple or wash. In the first named, the colour is laid on in lines, crossing each other in various directions, leaving spaces equal to the width of the lines between each, and finally producing an evenly-lined surface. The second is similarly commenced, and when advanced to the state we have described in the line, is finished by dots placed in the interstices of the lines, until the whole has the appearance of being stippled from the commencement. The third is an even wash of colour, without partaking of either the line or the dot, and when properly managed, should present a uniform flat tint.

Of these three methods Trott generally used the hatch and wash techniques. The lines and washes in numerous miniatures are painted in a dashing manner as if the artist was indifferent to any finish beyond that sufficient to give a characterization of the sitter, but this is a generalization which must be qualified because some of his miniatures are meticulously painted.

The backgrounds in his miniatures are frequently only partly painted but they do not have an unfinished appearance. The little touches of sky and the slight hatching melt harmoniously with the cream color of the ivory and produce a highly artistic effect, but this is another generalization which should be qualified because the backgrounds in some of Trott's miniatures are entirely hatched.

Much can be learned about Trott's technique from a detailed description by Walter H. Siple of Trott's miniature of John Jordan (Fig. 18):

Jordan is represented in a wine-red coat with brass buttons. His brown hair is informally brushed forward in the style called *au coup de vent*, which, according to Wehle, was popular during the period of romantic naturalism that followed Jefferson's rise to democratic popularity. The eyes are a piercing blue. This color note is repeated in the light blue bit of sky that is placed back of the lower part of the head. With the exception of this touch of blue and the delicate violet-grey cross-hatching about the shoulders, the ivory background is left unpainted. A pale, neutralized blue-violet is washed about the eye sockets and over the shaved parts of the cheeks, chin, and lips. There are traces of the preparatory pencil drawing. The coat has been carefully modeled with hatching and cross-hatching, over which the wine-red color has been washed, and finally, the prominent creases and shadows and the buttons have been boldly added in black and yellow. The glowing flesh tones of the face are sensitively modeled. The strokes are angular in character, sure and placed with vigor—all of which accounts for the vivid characteri-



Fig. 15. BENJAMIN TROTT
Nancy Shippen
Dr. Lloyd A. Shippen



Fig. 16. BENJAMIN TROTT
Portrait of a Man
New York, Metropolitan
Museum of Art



Fig. 17. BENJAMIN TROTT
Portrait of a Man
New York, Metropolitan
Museum of Art



Fig. 18. BENJAMIN TROTT, John Jordan
Cincinnati Art Museum



Fig. 19. BENJAMIN TROTT
Portrait of a Man
Washington, D. C., Mrs. T. E. Jansen

zation. Both the head and the cross-hatching back of the figure have the appearance of oil painting — the surfaces shine and have a slight impasto which is not found in the mat surface of the water color sky and coat. . . . There is, incidentally, no use of stippling on the Cincinnati portrait. The impression given is that of an accomplished artist working with the utmost ease and expressing spontaneously just what he wanted to express.

In spite of the fact that the techniques described are quite different from those employed by Malbone, it has already been pointed out that some of Trott's miniatures have been confused with the work of Malbone. A comparison of their work should dispel this confusion. Malbone's technique is smooth and his surfaces are carefully painted all over. Trott's technique is visible, dashing, and his backgrounds are frequently left partly unpainted. Finally, Malbone's characterization is generally in terms of a pleasantly serious mood. Trott's sitters on the other hand, have an alertness almost forced, not at all like the expressions that Malbone gave to his sitters.

As more and more miniatures are exhibited, described and reproduced the works of the various artists will stand out more distinctly. Even at the present time a sufficient amount of his work has been identified to show the distinct style and to reveal the importance of Benjamin Trott.

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A CATALOGUE OF MINIATURES BY OR ATTRIBUTED TO BENJAMIN TROTT

By THEODORE BOLTON and RUEL PARDEE TOLMAN

The catalogue is divided into three parts. The first includes miniatures by Trott. The second includes miniatures which the writers do not consider as by Trott. The third includes miniatures which have not been examined but have been attributed to Trott. Cross references are given in part one to the miniatures listed in parts two and three.

The shapes of the miniatures are oval unless otherwise noted. Their sizes are given with a period between the numbers to indicate inches and sixteenths of an inch. For example: 3.4 x 2.11 inches means three and four sixteenths inches by two and eleven sixteenths inches.

The names Bolton, Brockway, Wharton, Wehle, and so on, refer to books or articles by these writers which will be found listed in the bibliography. The initials F.A.R.L., stand for Frick Art Reference Library.

The fact that a miniature is listed as not by Trott does not necessarily mean that it is of poor quality. Some thus listed are excellent. An exhibition of Trott's work will be held at the National Collection of Fine Arts, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D. C., during 1945.

PART I

MINIATURES BY BENJAMIN TROTT

1. ABERCROMBIE, JAMES (1758-1841) (Fig. 1). Clergyman. Unlocated. Engraved by David Edwin for *Portfolio*, November, 1810, facing p. 393, Stauffer No. 691. Full bust in robes; face front. Mentioned: Bolton, No. 1.
2. ADAMS, LEWIS (Fig. 2). Description: 2.6 x 1.14 inches. Bust three-quarters to right. Background light. Inscription written on back: "Lewis Adams Septemr 1828 by B. Trott." Owners: (1) J. Abner Harper; (2) Herbert L. Pratt, New York, 1944. Reproduced: Bolton, *Early American Portrait Painters in Miniature*, facing p. 106; Wehle, *American Miniatures*, pl. XXV, facing p. 34; *American Collector*, October, 1940, p. 8, enlarged, also inscription. Mentioned: Bolton, No. 2; Hart, No. 77. Exhibited: Metropolitan Museum, 1927; Pennsylvania Academy, 1911, No. 187.
- AIKEN, William, so-called, not by Trott. See Part II.
- ALLSTON, WASHINGTON, so-called. See UNIDENTIFIED SITTER No. 4.
- ANTHONY, JOSEPH, not examined. See Part III.
- ANTHONY, JOSEPH, JR., not examined. See Part III.
- ASHURST, MR., not by Trott. See Part II.
- BEECHER, THADDEUS, not examined. See Part III.
3. BIDDLE, NICHOLAS (1786-1844) (Fig. 4). Financier. Painted 1807-1809. Description: rectangle, 3.10 x 2.12 inches. Outline sketch of a young man turned

three-quarters left. Owners: (1) Edward Biddle; (2) Mrs. Edward Biddle, Philadelphia, 1944. Reproduced: McGrane, *Correspondence of Nicholas Biddle*; Wehle, *American Miniatures*, pl. XXV; *Art Digest*, VII (August, 1934), 13. Exhibited: Metropolitan Museum, 1927. Mentioned: Bolton, No. 5. NOTE: "I copied it for Mrs. Samuel H. Thomas who was a granddaughter of Nicholas Biddle."—Miss A. M. Archambault, May 31, 1944.

4. BIDDLE, REBECCA (Fig. 3), daughter of Clement Biddle. Married Dr. Chapman. Description: 3.1 x 2.9 inches. Young woman in a high-necked white dress turned three-quarters left. Background dark. Owner: Metropolitan Museum.

BIEDERMANN, not examined. See Part III.

5. BINGAMON, COLONEL A. LEWIS (1763-1866) (Fig. 12). Owner: Mrs. Norvin H. Green, Tuxedo Park, New York.

BLAIR, MRS., not examined. See Part III.

CHEW, MISS, see WALN, SALLY.

CLAY, HENRY, not examined. See Part III.

6. CLYMER, GEORGE (1739-1813). Signer of the Declaration of Independence. Description: Half-length, seated, turned three-quarters right, arms folded. Owners: Mrs. Guglielmo Grant, Rome, Italy, and la comtesse de Bryas, Paris, 1892, according to Bowen, *Centennial*, p. 440. Engraved by (1) John Sartain for *Magazine of American History*, V (1880), 196; J. B. McMaster and F. D. Stone, *Pennsylvania and the Federal Constitution*, 1888, p. 27; (2) J. B. Longacre for John Sanderson, *Biographies of Signers to the Declaration of Independence*, IV (1823), 173; Stauffer, No. 1962; (3) W. Hooker, Stauffer, No. 1441. Reproduced: engraving by J. B. Longacre reproduced in *Art in America*, July, 1941, facing p. 154. Mentioned: Bolton, No. 7; Wharton, p. 179.

COALE, EDWARD JOHNSON, not by Trott. See Part II.

7. COHEN, BENJAMIN I. (1797-1845). Description: 2.14 x 2 inches. Turned three-quarters right. Background light blue-gray. Owner: Maryland Historical Society, Baltimore. NOTE: Another miniature of B. I. Cohen not by Trott. See Part II.

8. DALLAS, ALEXANDER JAMES (1759-1817). Secretary of the Treasury under President Madison. Description: 2.12 x 2.4 inches. Copied after the portrait by Stuart reproduced in L. Park, *Gilbert Stuart*, No. 205. Owners: (1) Mrs. Campbell Madeira, 1929; (2) Mrs. B. B. Reath, Merion, Pa. Reproduced: *Antiques*, August, 1939, p. 80, Fig. 1; J. H. Morgan, *Gilbert Stuart and his Pupils*, facing p. 24. Mentioned: Brockway, Fig. 1. Exhibited: National Gallery, 1929, incorrectly as by Malbone.

9. DURDIN, ALEXANDER HENRY. Size: 3.4 x 2.8 inches. Owner: Mrs. Norvin H. Green, 1944.

EDEN, MRS. MEDCEF, not examined. See Part III.

ETTING, MIRIAM. See MYERS, MRS. JACOB.

10. ETTING, SOLOMON (1764-1847) (Fig. 5). Merchant, Baltimore. Description: 2.12 x 2.6 inches. Turned three-quarters left. Background gray. Owner: Pennsylvania Academy. Mentioned: Bolton, No. 8. NOTE: Two miniatures of S. Etting, not by Trott. See Part II.

11. FLOYD, CHARLES (died 1828?), of Virginia. Soldier during the Revolution. Painted about 1805. Description: 2.9 x 2 inches. Hair brown; eyes blue; coat black; white stock. Owner: Mrs. Thomas B. Gannett who is now Mrs. Paul Hamlin, Way-

land, Mass., 1940. Photograph: F.A.R.L., No. 9544A; National Collection of Fine Arts, Washington, D. C. Mentioned: Historical Records Survey, *American Portraits found in Massachusetts*, No. 772; Metropolitan Museum, p. 53; Wehle, p. 41. Exhibited: Metropolitan Museum, 1927.

12. FOX, MRS., of Swedesboro, N. J. (Fig. 6). Painted about 1810. Description: 2.10 x 2.4 inches. Turned three-quarters left. Owner: Metropolitan Museum, acquired 1929. Reproduced: *Antiques*, August, 1931, Fig. 2. Mentioned: Metropolitan Museum, *Bulletin*, XXV (1930), 24.

FURMAN, WILLIAM, not by Trott. See Part II.

13. GIBSON, JAMES (1781-1814). Colonel, U.S.A., born in Maryland; killed in action, Niagara Frontier, in defense of Fort Erie. Unlocated. Engraved by Goodman and Piggott, rectangle, bust in uniform; face three-quarters left; 2.15 x 2.6 inches. Stauffer, No. 1138. Mentioned: Bolton, No. 9.

14. GILLET, MARTIN (1787-1837). Description: 2.7 x 1.3 inches. Turned three-quarters right. Background light. Owner: Charles B. K. Giller, Reisterston, Md., 1939.

15. GILLET, MRS. MARTIN, née ELIZABETH EDWARDS (1791-1858). Description: 2.7 x 1.3 inches. Turned three-quarters right. Owner: same as foregoing.

16. GOODWYN, THOMAS OSBORNE. Description: 2.12 x 2.3 inches. Man about 30 years old turned three-quarters left. Background light. Owner: Mrs. Farthing Fogler, Petersburg, Va., 1942. Reproduced: *Virginia Miniatures*, pl. VII. Exhibited: Virginia Museum, 1942, No. 208.

17. GRANT, MRS. PATRICK, née JANE GILMOR (1780-1804). Description: Turned three-quarters left. Background light. Owner: Estate of Mrs. Edward H. Marshall.

GREEN, JOHN, not by Trott. See Part II.

18. GREENLEAF, MRS. JAMES, née ANN PENN ALLEN (1769-1851) (Fig. 8). Eldest daughter of James Allen, founder of Allentown, Pa. Married 1800. Painted about 1797 after one of four oil portraits by Gilbert Stuart. Owners: inherited from a great-grandmother, Sarah Shippen, probably a friend of the subject, by Mrs. Nicholas Luquer, Washington, D. C., and bequeathed by her to her son Mr. Lynch Luquer and daughter Mrs. William Allen Hayes, Washington, D. C. Description: 2.14 x 2.5 inches. Resembles portraits reproduced in L. Park, *Gilbert Stuart*, Nos. 353 and 354. Reproduced: Wehle, *American Miniatures*, pl. XXVI; *Antiques*, XIV (Nov., 1928), 415. Exhibited: Metropolitan Museum, 1927; National Museum, 1925-26, No. 193, as by "artist unknown." Mentioned: Metropolitan Museum, *Catalogue*, 1927, p. 54. Photograph: National Collection of Fine Arts, Washington, D. C.

19. GUILLET, MRS. STEPHEN, née ELIZABETH MALTBIE [EDEN], of Fairfield, Conn. She was the adopted daughter of Medcef Eden and took his name, her maiden name being Elizabeth Maltbie. Description: rectangle, 3.4 x 2.10 inches. Head and bust three-quarters left; eyes front; hair parted in center with ringlets at sides. Background light. Owners: continuously in possession of members of the family and now owned by Miss Ethel C. Yates, a collateral descendant. Reproduced: *Art in America*, July, 1941, facing p. 154. Exhibited: Carolina Art Association, 1935, No. 207. HONE, PHILIP, not examined. See Part III.

HUMPHREYS, DAVID, so-called. See UNIDENTIFIED SITTER, No. XI.

- IRWIN, CHARLES C., not examined. See Part III.
20. JERVEY, ELIZABETH ALSTON (Fig. 9). Description: 2.9 x 2.2 inches. Full bust turned three-quarters left; white dress with V neck; dark hair curling over forehead. Background cloud effect. Exhibited: Pennsylvania Society of Miniature Painters, 1911, No. 113, incorrectly as by Malbone, lent by Charles H. Hart; National Gallery, 1929, *Catalogue, Miniatures . . . by . . . Malbone*, No. 41, incorrectly as by Malbone. Mentioned: T. Bolton, *Early American Portrait Painters in Miniature*, 1921, p. 105, No. 85, incorrectly as by Malbone. Owner: Herbert L. Pratt.
21. JORDAN, JOHN, of Hunterdon, N. J. (Fig. 18). Business associate of his uncle Godfrey Haga, Philadelphia (John Woolf Jordan, *Genealogical and Personal History of Western Pennsylvania*, New York, 1915, III, 1444). Description: 2.11 x 2.3 inches. Turned three-quarters left; blue eyes, brown hair; wine colored coat. Background light. Owners: (1) Mrs. Albert Fisher; (2) Cincinnati Art Museum. Reproduced: *Bulletin of the Cincinnati Art Museum*, IV (April, 1933), 38-43, 2 half-tone plates including enlargement; *Art in America*, XXIX (July, 1941), facing page 154. JORDAN, JOHN, JR. See UNIDENTIFIED SITTER No. XII.
- KENNEDY, ROBERT, not examined. See Part III.
- KING, WILLIAM, not by Trott. See Part II.
- LAMBETH, WILLIAM, not by Trott. See Part II.
22. LE GRAND, ABNER (1775-1862), of Virginia; resident of Lexington, Kentucky. Description: 2.6 x 2.4 inches. Turned three-quarters left; face almost front; eyes blue; coat blue; hair sandy. Background light. Owner: G. Frank Le Grand Gillis, 1931. Reproduced: *Antiques*, August, 1931, p. 81, Fig. 3. Photograph: F.A.R.L., No. 10959.
- LIVINGSTON, MRS. WALTER, not examined. See Part III.
- LOWE, CORNELIUS, not examined. See Part III.
- LYMAN, MR., not by Trott. See Part II.
23. MACOMB, MRS. ALEXANDER N., née JULIA ANN McWHORTER (1798-1846) (Fig. 10), daughter of Alexander Cumming McWhorter; married 1826. Painted at Newark, N. J., 1823. Description: rectangle, 3.2 x 2.4 inches. Young woman turned three-quarters left, full bust; dark dress with V-shaped neck; hair parted in center. Owner: New-York Historical Society, gift of George C. McWhorter, 1895. Reproduced: Wehle, *American Miniatures*, pl. XXVI, cut to oval shape; *Catalogue of American Portraits in the New-York Historical Society*, No. 507, p. 201, reproduces the entire rectangle; *American Collector*, October, 1940, p. 9, reproduces the entire rectangle. Mentioned: Bolton, No. 13; Metropolitan Museum *Catalogue*, 1927, p. 54.
- McILVAINE, WILLIAM AND MARY, not by Trott. See Part II.
- MANIGAULT, GABRIEL, AND MRS., not by Trott. See Part II.
- MILLIGAN, JOHN JONES, not by Trott. See Part II.
- MILLIGAN, MRS. JOHN JONES, not by Trott. See Part II.
- MONTGOMERY, JAMES, not examined. See Part III.
- MORRIS, ROBERT, so-called. See JOSEPH ANTHONY, Part III.
24. MORTON, JOHN HITE (about 1770-1841), of Lexington, Kentucky. Description: 2.8 x 2 inches. Owner: Mrs. C. C. Pinckney. Exhibited: Virginia Museum, 1941-42, No. 312.
25. MYERS, MRS. JACOB, née MIRIAM ETTING (1787-1809). Painted 1804.

Description: Turned three-quarters left. Light blue-gray background. Owner: Maryland Historical Society. Reproduced: Hannah R. London, *Portraits of Jews*, 1927, p. 153, enlargement of head and bust only and incorrectly attributed to Malbone. Exhibited: Pennsylvania Academy, 1911; two miniatures of Mrs. Myers shown at this time, both attributed to Trott and both then owned by Miss Mordecai, Nos. 191, 192. Photograph: F.A.R.L., No. 3359b.

26. NICHOLS, MRS. WILLIAM, née MARGARET HILLEGAS (1760-1808). Description: 2.9 x 2.2 inches. Turned three-quarters left; eyes front; hair light brown; eyes blue; white low-neck dress; purple sash. Background light. Location: Gallery, Yale School of Fine Arts. NOTE: Reproduced in L. Park, *Gilbert Stuart*, No. 580 and there attributed to Gilbert Stuart. However, in *Antiques*, XIV (Nov., 1928), 414, there are two plates, the miniature and an enlargement of detail, published opposite two plates after the miniature by Trott of Mrs. James Greenleaf, copied after Stuart. This comparison indicates that both miniatures were painted by Trott.

PARKER, JOHN, not by Trott. See Part II.

27. POINIER, JOHN WOODS (born 1801), of Newark (Fig. 14). Merchant and philanthropist. Painted 1823 at the time of his marriage. Description: Bust three-quarters left. Background light. Location: Rhode Island School of Design, gift of Mrs. E. D. Sharpe. Reproduced: Rhode Island School of Design, *Bulletin*, October, 1915, p. 4; Dunlap, *History*, II, facing p. 98; Bayley, *Little Known Early American Portrait Painters*, No. 3. Mentioned: Bolton, No. 15, incorrectly as "John Power."

28. POWEL, MRS. SAMUEL, née ELIZABETH WILLING (1742-1830). Unlocated. Mentioned: A. H. Wharton, *Heirlooms*, p. 170, states that Mrs. Powel was the wife of the last mayor of Philadelphia under the Crown. The miniature shows her in her old age. Copy: Thomas Sully noted in his account book, quoted in Biddle and Fielding, *Thomas Sully*, No. 1422: "Portrait painted partly from a miniature by B. Trott, begun Jan. 6th, 1817, finished July 9th, 1817." This is also unlocated.

29. RICHARDS, JAMES (1767-1843). Clergyman; installed pastor of Old Church, Newark, 1809. Unlocated. Engraved: by Hugh Bridport, rectangle, 5.3 x 4.5 inches. Inscribed: "Painted by Trott—Engraved by H. Bridport." Full bust to left; face three-quarters left. Stauffer, No. 277. Mentioned: Bolton, No. 17.

ROSS, JAMES, not by Trott. See Part II.

SANDERS, LEWIS, not examined. See Part III.

SHEE, COLONEL JOHN, not examined. See Part III.

30. SHIPPEN, EDWARD (1729-1806). Chief Justice of Philadelphia. Appointed Chief Justice by Chief Justice Thomas McKean when the latter became governor of Pennsylvania. He married Peggy Francis. Their third daughter, Margaret, became the second wife of Benedict Arnold. (*Dictionary of American Biography*.) Unlocated. References to this miniature are found in two letters from Edward Shippen, dated Philadelphia, January 20, 1796, and April 19, 1796, to his daughter, Mrs. Benedict Arnold, London. In the first letter Shippen refers to his portrait by Gilbert Stuart and states: "I have . . . employed Mr. Trot [t] . . . to take a copy of it in miniature." In the second he states that Alexander Foster, who was going to London, "has been kind enough to deliver it himself." (Lewis Burd Walker, "Life of Margaret Shippen, wife of Benedict Arnold," *Pennsylvania Magazine*, XXVI (1902), 225.)

31. SHIPPEN, "NANCY" (1763-1841) (Fig. 15). Christened Ann Hume Shippen;

daughter of Dr. William Shippen; married 1781 Henry Beekman Livingston, son of Robert R. Livingston of Clermont, New York. Painted about 1796. Description: 2.9 x 2.2 inches. Turned three-quarters left; eyes blue; dress and bonnet white; pink sash. Background pale sky-blue. Owners: (1) Dr. Lloyd A. Shippen; (2) National Collection of Fine Arts, Washington, D. C., on loan since 1935. Reproduced: *Nancy Shippen's Journal Book*, edited by Ethel Armes, Phila., 1935, color plate frontispiece; Wharton, *Heirlooms*, facing p. 202, unattributed.

32. SIMSON, GEORGE, of Scotland. Painted about 1815. Description: 3.2 x 2.8 inches. Bust three-quarters left; hair gray; eyes blue; coat dark blue; white waistcoat. Owners: (1) John Ross, Philadelphia; (2) Miss Helen Sheetz, Philadelphia; (3) Mrs. Charles Sydney Bradford, Philadelphia, 1891; (4) Mr. J. S. Bradford and Miss F. M. Bradford, Philadelphia. Exhibited: Pennsylvania Academy, 1911 and 1926, as by Malbone; National Gallery, 1929, as by Malbone. Mentioned: Brockway, p. 81.

33. SMITH, JAMES S. Married Lydia Leaming, November 9, 1808. Painted about 1808. Description: about 2.8 x 2 inches. Bust three-quarters left; hair brown; eyes brown; coat black; waistcoat white; stock and shirt frill white. Background unpainted except for touches of blue indicating sky. Owner: Mr. J. Somers Smith, Germantown, Pa. Photograph: F.A.R.L., No. 9689A.

34. SMITH, MRS. JAMES S., née LYDIA LEAMING. Description: about 2.8 x 2 inches. Bust three-quarters to left; hair brown; eyes brown; white empire gown; over her head a dotted white veil. Background dark gray. "Indecipherable inscription almost hidden by frame. Appears to be dated 1808." Note to F.A.R.L., photograph, No. 9689B.

SMITH, GENERAL SAMUEL, not examined. See Part III.

SOLOMON, JOSEPH, not by Trott. See Part II.

35. STONE, JANE (Fig. 13). Description: 3.4 x 2.8 inches. Turned three-quarters left; almost full face; blue eyes; brown hair; low cut dress. Sky background. Owner: National Collection of Fine Arts, Washington, D. C.

STOW, EDWARD, not by Trott. See Part II.

TOUSSARD, COLONEL DE, by Malbone, not by Trott. See Part II.

36. WAGNER, CHARLES (1787-1836). "Of Phila. lawyer, diplomat under Andrew Jackson, married Miss Stokes, painted by Trott." On typewritten label. Description: 2.14 x 2.5 inches. Young man; turned three-quarters left; hair curly; eyes blue-gray. Background: untouched ivory except for slight indication of sky. Owner: unknown.

37. WALLER, MR. Description: 2.10 x 2.1 inches. "Brown hair blue eyes pale complexion. Smoky gray-lavender shading at shoulders. Pure blue strokes in background of white clouds." Anna Wells Rutledge. Owner: Mrs. G. W. Dunn, Fort Moultrie, S. C. Photograph: F.A.R.L., No. 40210.

38. WALN, SALLY(?), later MRS. BENJAMIN CHEW WILCOCKS, or possibly MISS CHEW, daughter of Chief Justice Benjamin Chew, Philadelphia. Painted about 1820. Description: rectangle, 3.1 x 2.8 inches. Young woman; bust and head three-quarters left; eyes front; dark hair parted on side, curls falling on forehead and in front of ear; Empire style dress. Hatched background. Owners: (1) Mrs. Campbell Madeira, 1927, bequeathed to her niece. (2) Mrs. B. B. Reath, Merion, Pa. Reproduced: Metropolitan Museum, *Exhibition Catalogue*, 1927; *Art in America*, July,

1941, facing p. 154. Mentioned: Metropolitan, p. 54; Wehle, p. 42. NOTE: exhibited at the Pennsylvania Academy, 1926, as Miss Chew, owned by Mrs. Campbell Madeira, by unknown artist, No. 147.

39. WASHINGTON, GEORGE. Copy in miniature by Trott after a portrait in oil by Gilbert Stuart. Unlocated.

A. ENGRAVED COPY by John Roberts. Oval. Bust; head to left. 3.2 x 2.8 inches. No inscription. Dunlap states that Roberts engraved a plate after Trott's miniature copy but that "some misunderstanding taking place between the engraver and the painter, Roberts took a piece of pumice and . . . obliterated all traces of his work . . . A few impressions, taken as proofs, only exist." (Dunlap, *History*, III, 116.) However, Baker states: "This plate was left unfinished, but not destroyed, as stated by Dunlap in his sketch of the engraver of it. . . . The impressions usually seen, are those taken about twenty years later." (Baker, No. 314, and there called a "stipple" engraving.)

Hart, who gives the date as 1799, states: "The only original impression from the plate that I have seen, is extremely rich and shows fine execution. It was presented by the engraver to Alexander Anderson, the wood engraver." (Hart, No. 486, and Stauffer, No. 2701; both writers call the print a "mezzotint.")

B. ENGRAVED COPY, by J. B. Longacre. Vignette. Bust to left, 4.4 x 4 inches. Inscription: ". . . from a miniature by Mr. Trott." Engraved for: Abraham Rees, *Cyclopedia or Universal Dictionary of Arts*, Philadelphia, 1821. (Baker, No. 278; Hart, No. 417; Stauffer, No. 2105.)

C. ENGRAVED COPY, by C. C. Wright. Oval. Bust to left. 4.2 x 8.2 inches. Engraved for: Edwin Williams, *Book of the Constitution*, New York, 1833. Inscribed: "Trott Delt. Wright Engraver N. Y." (Baker, No. 356; Hart, No. 468; Stauffer, No. 3415.)

D. ENGRAVED COPY, by C. Gobrecht. Rectangle. Bust to left. 7.8 x 6.5 inches. Inscribed: "Drawn by Trott." (Baker, No. 235; Hart, No. 383; Stauffer, No. 1115.)

E. ENGRAVED COPY, by G. Fairman. Vignette. Bust to left. 5.5 x 4.12 inches. Inscribed: "Drawn by B. Trott from Stuart's picture." (Baker, No. 221; Hart, No. 372; Stauffer, No. 994.)

NOTE: William Dunlap, *History*, II, 121, speaking of an enamel miniature by William Birch, states: "My impression is that it was copied after Trott." However, William Birch, in his autobiography, states that he made his copies directly after Stuart's portraits. Therefore, Dunlap's impression is incorrect. The autobiography of William Birch is owned by Mrs. Joseph Carson.

40. WILCOCKS, BENJAMIN CHEW (1776-1845), of Philadelphia (Fig. 11). Merchant. Painted about 1812. Description: rectangle, 3.10 x 2.12 inches. Turned three-quarters left; eyes left. Owners: (1) Mrs. Campbell Madeira, 1927; (2) Mrs. B. B. Reath, Merion, Pa.; (3) Edmund Bury, Philadelphia, 1932; (4) Erskine Hewitt; (5) Mrs. Norvin Hewitt Green, Tuxedo Park, New York. Reproduced: *Art in America*, July, 1941, facing p. 154; *American Collector*, Oct., 1940, p. 8; Pennsylvania Academy, *Catalogue*, 1926, as by Malbone; Parke-Bernet Galleries, *Catalogue*, 53, Erskine Hewitt Collection, sale October 18-22, 1938, No. 1036. Mentioned: Bolton, No. 22; Dunlap, *History*, 1918, II, 100; Wharton, *Heirlooms*, p. 169. Exhibited: Pennsylvania Academy, 1926, as by Malbone; Metropolitan Museum, 1927, p. 54. Photograph: F.A.R.L., No. 17639.

41. WILCOCKS, BENJAMIN (1776-1845). Description: rectangle, 3.7 x 2.8 inches. Full bust, front; arms folded; face turned left. Background unpainted except for touches of sky. Owner: bequeathed by Mrs. Campbell Madeira to her niece, Mrs. B. B. Reath, Merion, Pa. Photograph: F.A.R.L., No. 9660.
42. WILCOCKS, BENJAMIN CHEW (1776-1845). Description: 3.6 x 2.14 inches. Face three-quarters left; eyes front. Owners: bequeathed by Mrs. Campbell Madeira to her niece, Mrs. B. B. Reath, Merion, Pa. Photograph: F.A.R.L., No. 9658A.
43. WILKINS, CHARLES (born 1764), of Lancaster Co., Pa., resided at Lexington, Ky. (See: Genealogical Society of Pennsylvania, *Publications*, XII, 200.) Painted 1805. Paper of later date inserted in back reads: "Good-bye, Charles Wilkins," and in pencil is added: "Lexington, Ky., July 1824." Description: 2.8 x 2.1 inches. Turned three-quarters left. Background light. Owners: (1) Herbert Du Puy; (2) Carnegie Institute, Pittsburgh. Reproduced: Wehle, *American Miniatures*, pl. XV, in color; Metropolitan Museum, *Catalogue*, 1927. Mentioned: Bolton, No. 20.
44. WILKINS, WILLIAM (1779-1865). Lawyer, statesman. Unlocated. Mentioned: Bolton, No. 19; Cone, No. 61; Sherman, No. 38; Wharton, *Heirlooms*, p. 170.
45. WILLIAMS, JAMES, of Philadelphia. Painted about 1806. Description: Young man; turned three-quarters left. Background light. Owners: (1) Miss Alice Cooper, Philadelphia, 1898; (2) The Misses Cooper, 1940. Reproduced: Wharton, *Heirlooms*, facing p. 169. Mentioned: Bolton, No. 21. Exhibited: Pennsylvania Academy, 1911, No. 190.
- WOODWORTH, SAMUEL, not by Trott. See Part II.
46. WROTH, PEREGRINE (1786-1879), of Chestertown, Maryland. Painted 1806, Philadelphia, while Wroth was student at the University of Pennsylvania. Inscription on paper in the back, in the sitter's handwriting: "Peregrine Wroth, painted by Mr. Trott Sansom . . . Philadelphia Anno Domini 1806." Description: 2.12 x 2.4 inches. Bust three-quarters to right; light background. Owner: Peregrine Wroth, Hagerstown, Md., 1927. Reproduced: Wehle, *American Miniatures*, pl. XXVI. Exhibited: Metropolitan Museum, 1927. Photograph: F.A.R.L., No. 4616.
47. UNIDENTIFIED SITTER No. I. PORTRAIT OF A GENTLEMAN. Painted about 1822. Description: 2.13 x 2.4 inches. Young man; turned three-quarters left. Background light. Owners: (1) Mrs. Clarke Walling, Boston; (2) sold to Herbert Lawton, Boston, 1935, and bought back shortly after; (3) National Gallery of Fine Arts, Washington, D. C. Reproduced: *Art in America*, July, 1941, facing p. 154. Exhibited: Carolina Art Association.
48. UNIDENTIFIED SITTER No. II. PORTRAIT OF A MAN. Description: rectangle, 3.2 x 2.8 inches. Young man; turned three-quarters to right. Eyes blue; hair brown; coat dark blue with three brass buttons. Background light. Backed with thin wood with inscription in pencil: "August 1810." The name "Wharton" in ink on paper, backing ivory. Owner: Historical Society of Pennsylvania. Mentioned: William Sawitzky, *Catalogue . . . of the Paintings . . . in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania*, Philadelphia, 1942, p. 189.
49. UNIDENTIFIED SITTER No. III. PORTRAIT OF A MAN. Painted about 1810-1812. Description: 2.14 x 2.7 inches. Bust three-quarters to right; eyes gray; hair dark brown; eyebrows dark; complexion pale; coat black; stock white; frilled

shirt front. Owner: (1) Herbert Du Puy; (2) Carnegie Institute, Pittsburgh. Photograph: National Collection of Fine Arts, Washington, D. C., No. 6220A.

50. UNIDENTIFIED SITTER No. IV. YOUNG MAN. Painted about 1800-1801. Description: 3 x 2.8 inches. Turned three-quarters left. Background light. Owner: Mrs. Paul M. Hamlin, Wayland, Mass., 1936. Reproduced: *Antiques*, August, 1931, Fig. 6, p. 82. Photograph: National Collection of Fine Arts, Washington, D. C. Mentioned: Historical Records Survey, *American Portraits Found in Massachusetts*, 1939, v. 1, No. 49 as of "Washington Allston by Malbone," with note, v. 2, under "addenda and errata" as follows: "Attributed to Benjamin Trott by Ruel P. Tolman." The sitter cannot be Allston because, comparing it with the miniature of Allston by Malbone at the Boston Museum, Allston's eyes were brown whereas the eyes in the miniature in question are blue. Thus this is "Unknown sitter by Trott" and *not* "Allston by Malbone." The monogram W. E. C. in gold letters inserted over checker-woven pattern of hair, back of the miniature, may aid in the identification of the sitter.

51. UNIDENTIFIED SITTER No. V. YOUNG GIRL. Description: three-quarters left; eyes gray-blue; brown hair falling over right shoulder. Background pale blue and purple. Owner: Mrs. Joseph Carson, Bryn Mawr, Pa., 1944.

52. UNIDENTIFIED SITTER No. VI. PORTRAIT OF A MAN (Fig. 16). Painted about 1822. Description: 2.5 x 1.14 inches. Turned three-quarters left; abundant rouseled hair. Background light. Owners: (1) Gilbert S. Parker; (2) Metropolitan Museum. Reproduced: *Art in America*, July, 1941, facing p. 154; Wehle, *American Miniatures*, pl. XXV.

53. UNIDENTIFIED SITTER No. VII. PORTRAIT OF A MAN (Fig. 19). Description: young man; turned three-quarters left; coat dark. Owner: Mrs. T. E. Jansen. Reproduced: *Art and Archaeology*, XXIX (May, 1930), 206; *Antiques*, August, 1931, Fig. 7, p. 82. Mentioned: Brockway, Fig. 7.

54. UNIDENTIFIED SITTER No. VIII. BRITISH OFFICER. Unlocated. Exhibited: by the artist, Pennsylvania Academy, 1811, No. 505.

55. UNIDENTIFIED SITTER No. IX. A LADY IN A BLACK VEIL. Unlocated. Exhibited: by the artist, Pennsylvania Academy, 1811. Mentioned: Bolton, No. 23; Dunlap, *History*, I, 416.

56. UNIDENTIFIED SITTER No. X. EASTERN SHORE LADY. Description: young woman; turned three-quarters left; Empire dress; short hair. Owners: (1) Mrs. E. M. Forman, Centreville, Md., 1924; (2) Mrs. Miles White, Jr., Baltimore, 1929. Photograph: F.A.R.L., No. 3512B.

57. UNIDENTIFIED SITTER No. XI (Fig. 17). YOUNG MAN. So-called DAVID HUMPHREYS. Description: 3 x 2.6 inches. Turned three-quarters left. Light background. Owners: (1) Albert Rosenthal; (2) Erskine Hewitt; (3) Metropolitan Museum. Reproduced: *Antiques*, August, 1931, Fig. 6, p. 82. Exhibited: New-York Historical Society, 1934; National Gallery, 1929, No. 41, incorrectly as by Malbone and "said to be of David Humphreys." Reproduced: *Catalogue*, No. 53, p. 207, No. 840, Parke-Bernet Galleries, Erskine Hewitt sale, October 22, 1938, sold for \$175.

58. UNIDENTIFIED SITTER No. XII. YOUNG MAN (Fig. 7). So-called JOHN JORDAN, JR. (1808-1890). NOTE: "Mrs. Wm. Beall, 1670, 31st Street, Washington, D. C., owns a miniature with J.J.J. on the back of frame, by Benjamin

Trott, said to be of John Jordan, Jr., which is impossible: the costume is about 1810-1820. About the size of the so-called Washington Allston miniature and painted like Charles Floyd."—R. P. Tolman.

PART II

MINIATURES INCORRECTLY ATTRIBUTED TO BENJAMIN TROTT

The miniatures listed below were formerly attributed to Trott. Some are now assigned to other artists. All are here considered as not by Trott.

AIKEN, WILLIAM (1806-1887). Governor of South Carolina. So-called. Size: 3 x 2.6 inches. Owner: Ehrich Galleries, 1925. Exhibited: National Gallery, 1925.

ASHURST, MR. Attributed to Trott by F. F. Sherman. Description: 2.3 x 2 inches. Turned three-quarters right; black stock. Background dark. Reproduced: *Art in America*, July, 1941, facing p. 154. Owner: Henry Walters, 1934.

COALE, EDWARD JOHNSON (1776-1832). Description: Man with side whiskers turned right. Unfinished. Location: Maryland Historical Society. Reproduced: Wehle, *American Miniatures*, pl. XXVI, there attributed to Trott. "Painted by Henry Inman."—R. P. Tolman and T. Bolton.

COHEN, BENJAMIN I. (1797-1845). Attributed to Trott by owner. Description: rectangle, 4.4 x 3 inches. Young man; turned three-quarters left; black stock. Owner: Maryland Historical Society. Reproduced: Hannah R. London, *Portraits of Jews*, p. 149.

ETTING, SOLOMON (1764-1847). Two miniatures: (1) profile; (2) facing front. Owner: Maryland Historical Society. Reproduced: Hannah R. London, *Portraits of Jews*, 1927, p. 153.

FURMAN, WILLIAM. Attributed to Trott by F. F. Sherman. Description: 2.15 x 2.5 inches. Bust and head three-quarters right; hand and sheet of paper. Background dark. Reproduced: *Art in America*, July, 1940, facing p. 121, and July, 1941, facing p. 154.

GREEN, JOHN (1735-1796), so-called. Owners: (1) Lucy Wharton Drexel; (2) Mrs. Andrew Van Pelt, Radnor, Pa. NOTE: Neither by Benjamin Trott nor of John Green. The costume discredits the identification of the sitter: the coat and stock are in the style worn 1806-1810, whereas the supposed sitter died in 1796.

HOLMES, ANDREW HUNTER. Attributed to Trott. However not characteristic of Trott's style. Description: 3.3 x 2.8 inches. Bust and head three-quarters right. Owner: Dr. Hunter Holmes McGuire, 1942. Reproduced and exhibited: cover of catalogue, Virginia Museum, *Virginia Miniatures*.

KING, WILLIAM " (1768-1852), the son of Richard King of Scarborough, Maine. . . . The artist was formerly thought to be Jarvis," from Erskine Jewett Collection, sale catalogue, No. 53, Oct. 18-22, 1938, item No. 858, and there attributed to Trott. "Not by Trott."—R. P. Tolman.

LAMBETH, WILLIAM. Owner: Mrs. George L. Nicolson. Exhibited: National Gallery, Washington, D. C., 1925-26, catalogue No. 197, listed as by unknown artist but attributed to Trott.

LYMAN, MR. (1753-1811). Size: 2.10 x 2.2 inches. Owner: Ehrich Galleries, 1925. Exhibited: National Gallery, 1925-26, p. 46, No. 159.

MANIGAULT, GABRIEL (1758-1809) and MRS. GABRIEL (1768-1824). There are two sets of these miniatures. NOTE: "I consider all of them modern copies of oil

portraits by Gilbert Stuart." — R. P. Tolman. Set number 1 owned by Mrs. D. J. McCarthy (Elizabeth Allen White); both reproduced: *American Magazine of Art*, XVI (Nov., 1925), 604-5, and erroneously attributed to Stuart. Set number 2, both reproduced by R. P. Tolman, *Antiques*, Dec., 1928, pp. 524-5, and described as modern copies of portraits by Stuart by an unknown artist. Both owned by Worcester Museum. Both signed on front "G.S. 1785," which is absurd since the portraits of which these are copies were painted 1795. Two photographs of the miniatures in the "Special File," under "Gilbert Stuart" at the National Collection of Fine Arts, both inscribed on back "by Gilbert Stuart" in ink, and underneath in pencil, in handwriting of L. Park: "probably by Benjamin Trott."

MILLIGAN, JUDGE JOHN JONES and MRS. MILLIGAN, née MARTHA LEVY. Mentioned: Sherman, Nos. 51 and 52. Exhibited: Metropolitan Museum, 1927, incorrectly "attributed to Trott," *catalogue*, p. 55.

PARKER, JOHN (1751-1840). Description: 3.2 x 2.8 inches. Bust three-quarters left; black stock. Owner: Mrs. Archibald H. Taylor, Baltimore. The costume is that of 1835 and as the sitter is a young man this could not be of John Parker.

ROSS, JAMES (1762-1847). U. S. Senator, 1794-1803. Size: 2.6 x 2 inches. Owners: (1) Lucy Wharton Drexel, Philadelphia; (2) Mrs. Andrew Van Pelt, Radnor, Pa. SOLOMON, JOSEPH, of London. Description: 3.15 x 2.5 inches. Bust three-quarters right. Background dark. Reproduced: Hannah R. London, *Portraits of Jews*, 1927, head only, enlargement, facing p. 151, attributed incorrectly to Trott. Photograph: F.A.R.L., No. 3360A. Owner: (1) Eleanor Cohen, Baltimore; (2) Maryland Historical Society. NOTE: "By Petticolas." — R. P. Tolman.

STOW, EDWARD (1768-1847). Merchant. Size 2.9 x 2.2 inches. Location: Yale Gallery of Fine Arts. Mentioned: Cone, No. 53; Sherman, No. 50. NOTE: The attribution to Trott is based on a sentence in the *catalogue* of the miniature exhibition, Metropolitan Museum, 1927. It is there stated that Edward Stow, in a letter dated February 22, 1838, mentions giving his "miniature painted by Benjamin Trott" to his daughter Caroline. The whereabouts of this letter is not given. Furthermore, L. Park, in *Gilbert Stuart*, under his note to the portrait of Stow by Stuart, quotes a letter by Edward Stow, also dated February 22, 1838, Boston: "Be it remembered that I have this day given, and do hereby give to my daughter Louisa Matilda Stow the portrait Picture of myself by Stuart—also my Miniature Picture paid [painted] by Peale—and both pictures I now deliver to her. Edward Stow." — L. Park, *Gilbert Stuart*, No. 793. So that the miniature mentioned in this letter by "Peale" may refer to the miniature at the Yale Gallery, which is *not* by Benjamin Trott. "By Raphael Peale." — R. P. Tolman.

TOUSSARD, COLONEL ANNE-LOUIS DE (1749-1817). Owner: Mrs. Elizabeth White McCarthy, 1939; copy owned by Frederick Prime. Reproduced: *Antiques*, Nov., 1929, p. 376, as by Malbone. Exhibited: Metropolitan Museum, 1927, attributed to Trott but according to R. P. Tolman, *Art Quarterly*, II (1939), supplement p. 414; "now admitted to be incorrect." "By Malbone and not by Trott." — R. P. Tolman.

WOODWORTH, SAMUEL. Attributed to Trott. Size: 2.10 x 2.2 inches. Owner: Mrs. Miles White, Jr., Baltimore, 1941. Exhibited: Metropolitan Museum, 1927; National Gallery, 1926. On the mount of the photograph of this miniature at the F.A.R.L. the following persons are listed as agreeing that this is by Trott: T. Bolton,

A. P. Howard, Mrs. K. McCook Knox and R. P. Tolman. T. Bolton has changed his mind: "In my opinion this miniature is not by Trott."

PART III

MINIATURES ATTRIBUTED TO BENJAMIN TROTT WHICH HAVE NOT BEEN EXAMINED

The miniatures listed below have been recorded as being by Trott. However, since the writers have not examined the miniatures, they are separately listed.

ANTHONY, JOSEPH (1738-1798). Ship Captain; uncle of Gilbert Stuart. Description: 2.14 x 2.6 inches. Full bust turned right. Owners: (1) Mrs. Sarah Morris Darroch, wife of James Darroch, Germantown, Philadelphia, granddaughter of Robert Morris, and by her incorrectly identified as Robert Morris; (2) Herbert L. Pratt, New York, 1944. Exhibited: Metropolitan Museum, 1927, as by Trott. NOTE: Charles H. Hart in *Catalogue of Works of American Artists in the Collection of Herbert L. Pratt*, No. 76, states that the miniature is by Trott copied after the oil portrait by Gilbert Stuart of Joseph Anthony. However, comparing a photograph of the miniature with reproductions of Stuart's portraits in L. Park, *Gilbert Stuart*, the miniature is *not* a copy of Stuart's portrait of Joseph Anthony, and it is *not* a copy of Stuart's portrait of Robert Morris. Judging from the photograph it may not even be by Trott.

ANTHONY, JOSEPH, JR. (1762-1814), a first cousin of Gilbert Stuart. Description: 3 x 2.6 inches. Turned right; hair dark. Background dark. Owners: (1) Francis P. Garvan; (2) Mabel Brady Garvan collection, Yale University, Gallery of Fine Arts. Mentioned: Wharton, *Heirlooms*, p. XV, reproduced facing p. 124, mentioned as possibly by Trott; Wehle, p. 41, mentions this with the miniature of Joseph Anthony, both of "which are painted in one and the same style"; but Wehle hesitates to take a stand, commenting "if we have correctly identified them." That it is not a copy after Stuart is obvious when the reproduction above mentioned is compared with the portrait of Joseph Anthony, Jr., in L. Park, *Gilbert Stuart*.

BEECHER, THADDEUS. Attributed to Trott by F. F. Sherman. Owner: New Haven Colony Historical Society.

BIEDERMANN, so-called. YOUNG MAN OF THE BIEDERMANN FAMILY. Description: 2.12 x 2.4 inches. Turned three-quarters left. Partly unfinished. Owner: Albert Rosenthal. Brought \$40 at Parke-Bernet Galleries auction, Mrs. J. Amory Haskell sale, No. 394, Friday, April 28, 1944. Reproduced: *Antiques*, August, 1931, p. 87, Fig. 5; *American Collector*, Oct., 1940, p. 8, incorrectly as Benjamin Chews (*sic*) Wilcocks.

BLAIR, MRS., of Germantown. Mentioned: Bolton, No. 6 as shown at "Exhibition, Newport, R. I., 1890."

CLAY, HENRY (1777-1852). Description: young man; turned three-quarters left; rumpled hair. Background light. Owner: Mrs. M. W. Anderson, Lexington, Ky., 1927. Reproduced: B. Mayo, *Henry Clay*, 1937, frontispiece, as by an unknown artist. Judging from the reproduction this resembles the work of Trott.

EDEN, MRS. MEDCEF, née REBECCA MASON. Married (1) Captain Maltbie, Fairfield, Conn., (2) Medcef Eden, New York. Description: rectangle with painted

oval border; middle aged woman wearing a bonnet. Owner: Miss Ethel C. Yates, Charleston, S. C. Reproduced: *Art in America*, July, 1941, facing p. 154. Exhibited: Metropolitan Museum, 1927; Carolina Art Association, 1936.

HONE, PHILIP (1780-1851). Mayor of New York. Description: turned three-quarters right. Background light. Reproduced: *American Collector*, Oct., 1940, p. 9.

NOTE: This may not be of P. Hone. Compare with the portrait by Vanderlyn at New York City Hall; also with miniature and the marble bust of Hone, both at the New-York Historical Society.

IRWIN, CHARLES C. Exhibited: Pennsylvania Academy, 1911, then owned by Horace Wells Sellers, *catalogue* No. 250, as by an unknown artist.

KENNEDY, ROBERT, of Philadelphia. Owners: Drexel Estate, Philadelphia.

LIVINGSTON, MRS. WALTER, née ANN ALLEN. Size 2.15 x 2.8 inches. Owners: (1) A. Rosenthal sale, Dec. 14, 1920, sold for \$380; (2) Mrs. D. J. (Elizabeth Allen White) McCarthy, Philadelphia. Exhibited: Pennsylvania Academy, 1926, No. 25; National Gallery, 1925, No. 157, as by Trott. Mentioned: Bolton, No. 10. Reproduced: *International Studio*, LXXVI (March, 1923), 510.

LOWE, CORNELIUS. Mentioned: Bayley, *Little Known Early American Painters*, pamphlet 3; Bolton, No. 11; Sherman, No. 32.

MONTGOMERY, JAMES. "Face damaged at eye, restippled. Faded. Unquestionably by Trott."—Edmund Bury. Owner: Mrs. H. H. Norton, 1944.

SANDERS, LEWIS, of Lexington, Ky. Owner: Herbert L. Pratt, 1927. Mentioned: Bolton, No. 18; Wharton, *Heirlooms*, p. 170, as follows: "painted for Mr. Sanders' fiancée, Anna Nicholas."

SHEE, COLONEL JOHN. Exhibited: Pennsylvania Academy, 1911, No. 189. Then owned by Malcolm Douglas, M.D., and V. A. Lynch.

SMITH, GENERAL SAMUEL (1752-1839). Said to be a copy of portrait by Stuart. Owners: Ehrich Galleries, 1931.

Sir:

LETTER TO THE EDITOR

We would like to call attention to the ambiguity of the wording in note 11 of Mr. de Tolnay's article in *The Art Quarterly*, Summer, 1944, p. 190. It is not clear from the statements therein whether the panel by Hugo van der Goes in the Walters Gallery was restored and certain parts retouched prior to or after its acquisition by the Gallery. The fact of the matter is the panel has been cleaned by the Gallery's Technical Department, during which cleaning the repaint was removed. This repaint comprised the restorations and retouches referred to in note 11 above, and they, consequently, all took place before the panel came into the Gallery's possession.

EDWARD S. KING
Walters Art Gallery

RECENT IMPORTANT
ACQUISITIONS
OF AMERICAN COLLECTIONS



VINCENT VAN GOGH, *Landscape at Saint-Rémy*
Indianapolis, John Herron Art Institute (29" x 36 1/4")

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THE RECENT ACQUISITIONS

LANDSCAPE AT SAINT-RÉMY BY VINCENT VAN GOGH

From an article by Blanche Stillson in the *Bulletin* of the
John Herron Art Institute, October, 1944.

An impressive canvas by Vincent van Gogh, *Landscape at Saint-Rémy*, has been added to the group of paintings presented to the Art Association of Indianapolis in memory of Daniel W. and Elizabeth C. Marmon. It is a work which dates from the last year of the artist's life and reveals his fully developed style.

Although it is not necessary to review the well-known details of Van Gogh's life, it may be well to recall that his career as a painter began and ended during the short space of ten years, and that most of his work was crowded into the last four, when, having left Holland in the hope of finding more congenial surroundings in France, he lived and worked at Paris (from February, 1886, to February, 1888), at Arles (from February, 1888, to May, 1889), at Saint-Rémy (from May, 1889, to May, 1890), and lastly, at Auvers (from May, 1890, until his death in July of the same year, at the age of thirty-seven). Our landscape takes its title from his stay in Saint-Rémy, where he was a patient in a mental hospital, and where, during intervals of health, he continued to work intensively. His correspondence, which supplies a written accompaniment to his painting, contains three references to this canvas, which reveal his thought and purpose:

I have just brought back a canvas on which I have been working for some time representing the same field again as in the *Reaper*. Now it is clods of earth and the background of parched land, then the cliffs of the Alps. A bit of blue-green sky with a little white and violet cloud. In the foreground a thistle and some dry grass. A peasant dragging a truss of straw in the middle. It is again a harsh study and instead of being almost entirely yellow, it makes a canvas almost entirely violet. Blended violet and neutral tints. But I am writing to you because I think this will complete the *Reaper* and will make clearer what that is. For the *Reaper* looks as though it were done at random and this will give it balance. As soon as it is dry I am sending it with the copy of the bedroom. I do beg you to show them *together*, if anyone sees the studies, because of the contrast of the complementaries.

To-day I sent off some canvases as follows: *Ploughed Field* with background of mountains—it is the same field as the reaper's of last summer and can be a companion to it; I think that one will show off the other . . . Please do not look at them without putting them on stretchers and framing them in white . . . For the colorings absolutely need the set-off of the white frame to judge the whole.

I was more the master of myself in these studies because my state of health had improved. So, there is also a canvas of thirty with tilled fields, blended lilac with background of mountains which reach to the top of the canvas; then nothing but rough fields and rocks with a thistle and dry grass in one corner and a little violet and yellow man. That will prove to you, I hope, that I am not still unstrung. Mon Dieu! this is really an ill natured little country, everything in it makes it difficult to extract its inner character and to make of that not something vaguely alive, but of the true soil of Provence. To achieve that then one must work hard, and then naturally it becomes a bit abstract; for it is a matter of giving to the sun and the blue sky its force and brilliance, to the fields parched—and often melancholy—their delicate aroma of thyme.

Whether or not Van Gogh succeeded in his purpose, whether

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PETER PAUL RUBENS, *Erichthonius*
Oberlin College, Allen Memorial Art Museum (43 $\frac{1}{4}$ " x 40 $\frac{1}{2}$ ")



ANTHONY VAN DYCK, *Portrait of a Bearded Man* (29" x 24 $\frac{3}{4}$ ")
Oberlin College, Allen Memorial Art Museum

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the canvas implies the ideas he intended or holds other connotations, is a matter for individual perception to determine. Certainly it is a moving work and a great addition to the Museum's collection.

TWO SEVENTEENTH CENTURY FLEMISH MASTERPIECES

by Wolfgang Stechow

Within the last four years the Allen Memorial Art Museum of Oberlin College has been able to build up a collection of considerable size, quality and catholicity of scope. Readers of this periodical are already familiar with such acquisitions as Barthel Bruyn's *Portrait of a Lady* (*Art Quarterly*, IV (1941), 248) and Hogarth's *Portrait of Theodore Jacobsen* (*ibid.*, VI (1943), 70), both purchased from the fund generously provided by Mr. R. T. Miller, Jr. In the meantime, many new acquisitions have been made through the same fund and through various other sources. Another significant addition was due to a great benefactress of the Art Department of Oberlin College, Mrs. Elisabeth Severance Allen Prentiss of Cleveland, whose bequest contains a *Madonna* by Pintoricchio, Hobbema's *Pond in the Forest* of 1668, a *View of Venice* by Turner as well as prints from the sixteenth to the nineteenth century in particularly fine impressions. The museum has just issued two numbers of its new *Bulletin*, the second of which contains an illustrated list of its acquisitions from 1940 to 1944, while the first is dedicated to a Florentine quattrocento cassone which has recently entered the collection and which makes possible the identification of the so-called Virgil Master workshop with the *bottega* of Marco del Buono and Apollonio di Giovanni, hitherto known from written sources only.

Among the new purchases from the Miller fund, two masterpieces of Flemish painting of the seventeenth century are certain to draw the attention of a wide circle of art lovers and art

historians, the more so as they have never before been shown in this country. They are a late work by Peter Paul Rubens and a very early one by Anthony van Dyck, the latter painted almost twenty years prior to the picture of his master. In a way, this statement of the chronological relationship of the two works implies a rather favorable indication of their merits, since it is agreed that while we may expect something particularly beautiful from the hand of the *late* Rubens, Van Dyck did many of his most striking masterpieces when he was very young.

Recent exhaustive investigations by Ludwig Burchard, unfortunately still unpublished but made accessible to this writer by the author's kindness, have shed an interesting light on Rubens' various treatments of the old myth centering around the Daughters of Cecrops and the Infant Erichthonius. According to the most popular sources (Ovid, Hyginus), Minerva had promised to bring up the little Erichthonius, who had snakes in place of legs, and to keep his existence secret from the other gods. She had therefore left him in charge of the three daughters of Cecrops, strictly forbidding them to open the basket in which he was placed. However, the girls were overcome by curiosity, betrayed Minerva's confidence, and uncovered the little monster. Rubens' interest in this rarely represented story might well have been aroused by book illustrations dealing with it, but he seems to have been the first to render it in paintings. The well-known picture in the Liechtenstein Gallery at Vienna was done as early as about 1617; in it, Rubens had already added an old nurse to the composition, as a contrast to the youthful sisters. After a long interval, the master returned to the myth in a huge canvas of about 64½ by 92 inches, painted, according to stylistic evidence, around 1633-1635. In its original dimensions this picture can be traced back to the collection of the Duc de Richelieu, a great-nephew of the cardinal; it appears in the catalogue of that collection compiled by Roger de Piles in 1676-1677.

DUVEEN BROTHERS

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DOMENICO VENEZIANO, *Saint John in the Desert*
Washington, D. C., National Gallery of Art, Kress Coll.

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Some time afterwards, it, like some other large pictures of Rubens' later period, was cut down and the Oberlia painting (43¼ by 40½ inches) turns out to be its lower right portion—the only large part of it that has survived. Part of the standing sister can be seen on the extreme left; the third was kneeling on the ground. On the right was an elaborate fountain. The present picture appeared in two French collections in 1786 (Morel) and 1787 (de Changran); by that time a clever restorer had transformed the ungainly content of the basket into a bouquet of flowers which was not removed until quite recently. The original form of the whole composition is known to us through various preparatory versions and copies. The Oberlin fragment is in a perfect state of preservation, with later restorations skillfully taken off and some authentic *pentimenti* by Rubens himself (lower left) carefully respected. The brilliant display of gold, orange and white in the blonde girl, contrasted with red, rose, blue-green and brown elsewhere in the center and to the left; the Titian-like landscape to the right with its light blues, greens and yellows; the masterly synthesis of plastic conciseness and pictorial freedom in the figures: all testify to the painting having been executed in Rubens' last period and entirely with his own brush.

In contrast to the Rubens, Van Dyck's *Portrait of a Bearded Man* (29 by 24¾ inches) has not remained unnoticed in the recent literature on the master. It is reproduced in Glück's *Klassiker der Kunst* edition of Van Dyck's works (1931, p. 76, see also note on p. 528); at that time it formed part of the Leopold Koppel collection in Berlin from which it had already been lent to the *Kaiser Friedrich Museum Verein* exhibition in 1914 (no. 38). It was a favorite of Wilhelm Bode's who dedicated some admiring lines to it in his *Die Meister der holländischen und flämischen Malerschulen* (1921, p. 348). It is indeed a striking proof of Van Dyck's artistic precocity, having been painted as early as about 1615-1616 when the artist was living in Rubens' house as a youth of sixteen or seventeen. Many observers have been struck by the impression that it reminds one of Frans Hals, by virtue both of its free brushstroke and of its great spontaneity of characterization. Yet its technique, unmistakably related to Rubens' in basic firmness of ruddy flesh tones, the "plastic" collar and the brown underpaint of the black coat, is definitely Flemish and early-Van Dyckish. This crop-eared man, rubicund, blond and genial but with an unmistakable touch of wistfulness and sadness under his heavy eyelids—was he really one of the most fascinating people of the Antwerp bourgeoisie or has he rather been made to appear so by the amazing youth's artistry? Be that as it may—there will be few who would deny that this portrait outweighs many of the flattering renderings of courtiers which, however brilliantly painted, constitute too large a percentage of the master's late productions.

TWO OF THE NATIONAL GALLERY'S NEW ACCESSIONS

Recently Samuel H. Kress of New York gave to the National Gallery of Art a large new collection of Italian art, including some of the greatest masterpieces of painting and sculpture in America. This new donation, consisting of more than ninety paintings and pieces of sculpture, will make the National Gallery's collection of Italian art one of the most comprehensive in the world.

Included among these outstanding new accessions are a marble bust of the *Christ Child* by Desiderio da Settignano and *The St. John in the Desert* by Domenico Veneziano. This beautiful fifteenth century panel once formed a part of the predella belonging to the altarpiece of S. Lucia de' Magnoli, now in the Uffizi.

The Saint has retired into the desert in preparation for the

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HUDSON'S

DETROIT 2



DESIDERIO DA SETTIGNANO, *Bust of the Holy Child*
 Washington, D. C., National Gallery of Art, Kress Coll.

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coming of Christ and is casting off his garments before donning his camel hair covering. "The mountains are all gray-brown and the bushes stand out in dark green. The light flesh is enlivened by the intense reds of the garments. Everywhere there is a great simplicity, the lights are defined with a bold clearness upon the shadows; in the precision of the forms, the attitude and the tones there is a magic calm, a pause in life for contemplation" (L. Venturi, *Italian Paintings in America*, 1933, II).

One of the greatest events in recent years in the history of Italian sculpture collections is the re-uniting in America of the two Vanchetoni marble busts through the Kress gift to the National Gallery of Desiderio's little *Christ Child*. "This little figure, in which the suppleness of the flesh and the finesse of the skin are miraculously shown . . . is worthy to be compared with the *Infant Jesus* of the San Lorenzo Tabernacle" (Reymond, *La Sculpture Florentine*, 1899). Known as the "Vanchetoni Christ Child" it was preserved for centuries in the Church of San Francesco dei Vanchetoni where originally it formed a pair with Rossellino's *St. John* above the doors on either side of the Vanchetoni Oratorio.

These two exquisite busts are once more united in the National Gallery and will be exhibited together.

A LATE WORK BY TIEPOLO IN THE DETROIT MUSEUM

by W. R. Valentiner

The great artist who lives to an old age rarely escapes the tragic fate of having outlived his time. The greatest Venetian artist of the eighteenth century, Tiepolo, after having furnished half of Europe for almost two generations with his gay rococo fantasies, suffered at the end of his life from change of taste

created by the coming neo-classic style which brought him not only a dearth of commissions but also humiliations which may have caused his untimely death.

When Tiepolo was called to Spain in 1762 at the age of sixty-six by Charles III, he was at first received with all the honor due his reputation. But after he had painted the beautiful ceiling decorations in the king's palace, no further orders were given him by the court. Raffael Mengs, the first of the neo-classicists, and his school had come into power and were awarded the most important commissions. Mengs also managed to reorganize the Academy and Tiepolo was asked to take the ridiculous position of instructor in anatomy under the leadership of Mengs, a position which he resigned two months later after a quarrel. The king's minister showed no interest in Tiepolo's work and left his petitions unanswered. But the king must have felt some pity for the old master for he gave him a last order—the decoration of the seven altars in the monastery church of St. Pasqual at his summer residence Aranjuez. This was in 1767. The altar paintings were finished in 1769; in March 1770 Tiepolo died. But after Tiepolo's death Raffael Mengs succeeded in having his own paintings placed on the altars of St. Pasqual and Tiepolo's pictures disappeared into inaccessible rooms of the palace. Some were later given to the Prado Museum, others were sold. The *St. James* has appeared in recent times in the Budapest Museum; another—after having been in the Prado—came into the possession of a private collector in Madrid, the Marquese de Remisa, and later into the collection of Don Lorenzo Moret; and was exhibited in London just before the war. This painting, representing *St. Joseph*, has been acquired by the Detroit Institute of Arts thanks to a most generous gift of Mr. and Mrs. Edgar B. Whitcomb.

In a wide open space on a sandy hill St. Joseph kneels upon a rock almost concealed by clouds, holding the nude Child in

K N O E D L E R

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TIEPOLO, *St. Joseph and the Christ Child*
Detroit Institute of Arts

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a bed of white linen in his arms. He leans against a solidly formed bank of cloud upon which the Child seems to have descended from heaven. An angel in the shadow of the cloud presents the Child with a basket of flowers. Other cupids hover in the blue sky above. Below, on the other side, is a city in the distance.

The angel is a well-known type, the beautiful model Christina whom Tiepolo took with him from Venice, leaving his wife behind. The city, supposedly Bethlehem, is also a remembrance of Venice, the church with its large center dome suggesting Santa Maria della Salute.

Joseph carries with him, like a pilgrim's staff, his blossoming rod, the sign given that he had been chosen as Mary's husband from among the many suitors whose rods did not blossom. His hair and beard are gray like the silver colored robe he wears. It contrasts beautifully with the burnt gold shades of his mantle. The colors are subdued but of great luminosity, partly due to the glazes with which the shadows and also the steel blue sky have been gone over.

Joseph's age seems to be exaggerated, probably to strengthen the contrast between old age which he symbolizes, and the expression of childhood in front of him. Rembrandt also in his later years was fond of this touching motive—an old man kneeling in adoration before the new-born—but he transformed it into the scene of the aged Simeon receiving the Christ Child in his arms in the temple. Thus the great masters show us the end and the beginning of life closely intertwined in a scene symbolizing the eternal return of life in all creation.

The newly acquired painting gives to the Detroit Museum, together with Tiepolo's other works already in its possession, a representation of this greatest Italian eighteenth century master unequalled by any other American museum. It shows his development from his baroque beginning to his last years in no less than five easel paintings, three of them of large size.

The festive and brilliant colors of his earlier work have disappeared in the newly acquired painting of 1767. There is nowhere the deep brown or warm red of the earliest period, nor any of the strong blue and cinnabar of the middle period. Red has passed out completely and the blue has become grayish. Yet the colors, although less fiery, are serene and pure, strangely magical and radiating a transcendental beauty in a symphony of white, silver-gray and golden-yellow, in accordance with the spiritual content of the picture.

Tiepolo is, of course, not the first to represent spiritually inspired figures in the midst of clouds or heavenly spaces. But compared to predecessors like Tintoretto or Murillo, his figures are much more at home in the air, forming as it were a completely harmonious unit with the clouds out of which they are born. Figures and clouds are inseparable. Bodies dissolve in clouds and clouds take on the volume of bodies. It is as if the artist had been accustomed to see the world all his life from an aeroplane (which was not invented until one hundred years later), so secure does he feel in company with his figures in the heavenly blue realms, so freely does he represent them moving in every direction in space.

This does not mean that Tiepolo's compositions do not have a strong inner construction. In spite of their airy aspect their main motives—witness the figure of St. Joseph—have more volume and plastic force than most of the neo-classicist paintings of his rivals and certain hidden diagonal construction lines hold his composition together better than do the obvious mathematical skeletons of the pictures of his adversaries.

These diagonal movements break into the inner area of the picture from outside space like lightning, giving at the same time movement and solidity to the composition. We see this in the group of cupids flying diagonally through the sky and re-

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NIKOLAUS GERHAERT, *Bust of St. Margaret*
The Art Institute of Chicago

(H. 20"; W. 17¼")

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peating the diagonal line of St. Joseph's staff; it is still more conspicuous in the *Alexander* and the two early *Madonnas* of the Detroit collection.

The tendency away from the earth, which we feel even in the upward movement of St. Joseph, was too much for the bourgeois world of the late eighteenth and nineteenth century. After the distant fantasies of the rococo, people wished to live once more on secure ground and returned to the tradition of building compositions with architectural construction in which the spectator is closely connected with his outlook through earthly perspective.

Our air-loving time has come back to an understanding of free movement in space detached from the earth. Art started anew where Tiepolo left off. The rediscovery of his art came about thirty years ago and resulted in a number of popular books on Tiepolo, a flood of magazine articles—of which the index alone fills several pages in the Thieme-Becker lexicon—and several exhibitions devoted to his art, of which the most instructive was that at the Chicago Art Institute in 1938.

The creation of the altarpiece of *St. Joseph* proves that Tiepolo not only did not decline in his old age, but produced works which were filled with a prophetic outlook into the future. We can compare him in this respect with two earlier Venetian masters, Giovanni Bellini and Titian. The museum is most fortunate to possess a work by each of these great masters also, painted with a remarkable freshness of spirit in their old age: The *Madonna* of Bellini which was painted when the artist was seventy-five years of age and the *Judith* executed by Titian at the age of eighty or eighty-five.

A MEDIEVAL MASTERPIECE REDISCOVERED

From an article by Oswald Goetz with the collaboration of Meyric R. Rogers in the *Bulletin of The Art Institute of Chicago*, April-May, 1944.

The activity of scholars and dealers during the last several generations has left little doubt as to the identity and location of any work of importance surviving from the Middle Ages. However, by great good fortune and a series of happy coincidences, the Institute has become the beneficiary of one of the rare exceptions to this rule. As it turns out, this masterpiece had escaped the attention of experts for more than half a century under a disguising overlay applied by a "restorer" some seventy years ago, clearly in an attempt to make a damaged and then unidentified medieval relic more attractive to the art market of those days.

A reliquary bust in wood covered with soiled and damaged polychromy had been long a very minor item among the vast collections of William Randolph Hearst, under the listing "Bust of a female saint, Spanish XVI Century." By chance a European expert, going through what remained of this collection, had a moment of clairvoyance. His eyes saw past the tawdry exterior of this saintly Cinderella and recognized its startling resemblance to one of a series of plaster casts in the Frauenhaus, the cathedral museum of Strasbourg, which were recorded as taken from wood originals at one time in the Church of SS. Peter and Paul in Weissenburg. Years before, the art historian Voegelé had commented on these casts and related their originals to the circle of Nikolaus Gerhaert of Leyden, whose identity and importance as an original creative genius was just then coming to light. Two of the originals, *St. Catherine* and *St. Barbara*, were shortly afterwards discovered in the collection of J. Pierpont Morgan, now in the possession of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. The whereabouts of the two other originals, *St. Margaret* and *St. Agnes*, remained a mystery.

Upon the acquisition of this reliquary bust by the Institute, the sculpture was placed in the hands of an expert restorer,

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DOUGLAS, R. LANGTON. *Leonardo da Vinci, His Life and His Pictures*. University of Chicago Press, 1944.....\$4.00

One must feel glad that this excellent connoisseur and student of Italian art has set down his conclusions on the difficult problems of Leonardo's *oeuvre*. His list is more inclusive than Mr. Berenson's, his discussion invariably stimulating and supported both by careful documentary and stylistic argument.

Joseph Ternbach, and the unfortunate late polychromy removed. The superb quality of the carved surface beneath permits no doubt that this was the original state as it was left by the artist and is in itself strong evidence that we have, indeed, a work of the master's own hand and not a mere workshop production.

It was then easy to identify the subject of the sculpture as St. Margaret of Antioch, with her normal attributes of the dragon and the book. St. Margaret has been revered as one of the fourteen Saints of Succor, to each of whom is assigned a special protective function against the trials and dangers of human life. St. Margaret is, in particular, the protectress of motherhood and agriculture and in the medieval mind took the function of Demeter in the pagan pantheon. A convert to Christianity during the great persecutions prior to Constantine, Margaret of Antioch was imprisoned and during her trials prayed that the principle of evil be revealed to her in tangible form. In answer, a terrifying dragon appeared and was about to consume her when the Saint made the sign of the Cross, whereupon the monster vanished.

Both her story and the source of her powers are indicated in the sculpture. The first is embodied in the dragon, here tamed to the harmlessness of a lap dog through the power of the Cross which she originally held in her left hand, and the second through the Holy Writ represented by the book.

Recent research has shown that Nikolaus Gerhaert of Leyden or Leyen, whose importance as a master of the late fifteenth century is attested by his signed sculptures in Trèves (1462) and elsewhere, actually worked in Strasbourg from 1463 to 1467. Here it is known he made certain sculptural decorations for the Chancellery which included two type portraits of a man and woman, popularly identified as the Count of Lichtenberg-Hanau and his light o' love, Bärbele of Ottenheim. Like the *St. Margaret*, both were known after the Franco-Prussian War

only by casts, also preserved in the Frauenhaus. About thirty years ago the head of the Count was recovered in a distant city and in 1935 that of Bärbele was brought to light in private possession. Many years before, scholars had pointed out the close connection between the plaster casts of the *Bärbele* and the four saints from Weissenburg, also in the Frauenhaus. Now, when it is possible to compare the originals, the sisterly relationships of form, if not of spiritual content, between the former and the Institute's *St. Margaret* are even more immediate. It is true, the face of the *Bärbele* is broader, more refined and nervous, but no one who has seen both heads can deny the close similarities: the form of the eyes with the lowered lids; the high arched brows which spring winglike from the bridge of the thin nose; the profile of the nose itself; the mobile mouth with its pouting lips; and even the same dimple on the rounded chin. We get the impression that the same woman served as a model for both. However this may be, both busts—the one of stone and the other of wood—must have been made in the same workshop at least under the control of an identical master. While in the *Bärbele* the artist has been concerned with a lively mundane type, in *St. Margaret* he has been occupied with embodying supernal virtues and powers in the person of a gracious woman of gentle birth. The capacities of the sculptor are evidenced by the subtle clarity with which this differentiation has been made.

Beyond the notation on the Frauenhaus casts that the originals came from the Church of SS. Peter and Paul at Weissenburg, there is no external evidence as to their actual use or placing. An examination of these casts brings out, however, one important indication. Two of them, the *St. Catherine* and *St. Barbara*, were evidently designed to be seen at or about normal eye height, while the *St. Margaret* and the still unrecovered *St. Agnes* were clearly made to be seen from below. Actual

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experiment has shown that the *St. Margaret* appears to best advantage when so placed. This division is no mere accident. Sculptures of the kind might have been used in *jubés* or chancel screens or more likely as part of the enrichment of one of the elaborate altarpieces usual at the time. Unfortunately, such fittings as may have originally existed in the Weissenburg church have been destroyed, though such records as now exist eliminate the possibility of a wood chancel screen. As to the altar, we can offer only parallel examples in the region. The surviving high altar of the parish church of Lorch (1483) shows four similar busts arranged in pairs, two in niches immediately above the altar and two similarly placed on a superior stage. It is, therefore, highly probable that the Weissenburg sculptures were used in this manner.

It may be further inferred that these Weissenburg sculptures were removed from their original positions during either the disturbances of the Thirty Years' War or those of the French Revolution and brought to Strasbourg, where the casts were made about 1870, after which the originals disappeared. Probably they were sold.

The cast of *St. Margaret* was made before the original underwent the "restoration" of the nineteenth century. On the cast the upper leaves of the crown are lacking while the opening for the relic is still visible, and certain pieces later restored are missing. The restorer evidently filled out certain disturbing cracks, in particular one running down from the right eyebrow to the left hand and the book. The fifth finger of the right hand, some missing pieces of the dragon, certain details of the crown, and a new base were all added by the restorer who, at the same time, eliminated the relic hole and covered the entire surface with a gesso ground finished in color and punched gilding. Having undergone this "improvement," the bust appeared on the Paris market and all traces of her provenance were lost. In the eighties, our *St. Margaret* was incognito in the Gavet Collection. The bust then passed into that of F. Doistau which was sold in 1909. At this time it was listed as German, sixteenth century. William Randolph Hearst acquired the piece in 1910 in Paris.

When the sculpture came into possession of the Institute, it was necessary to remove all the superficial adornment suffered after 1870, though, unfortunately, the surface scratching made to give the plaster or gesso coat its hold, and the traces of stamped pattern could not be eliminated. Certain of the restorations made in the old wood were retained and a few more recent shrinkage cracks filled. Happily the tone and patina of the natural surface remained uninjured save in inconspicuous areas affected by the wood worm. We can therefore say that *St. Margaret* now appears practically as she did for centuries in her original home.

Though others had been able to make an approximation of the true historical position of the sculpture on the basis of the cast, the qualities present in the original make it possible to eliminate any reservations and ascribe it definitely to the hand of Nikolaus Gerhaert himself. It is impossible to think of the creator of such a work as a follower. Comparison with the works of Nikolaus Gerhaert, even though in stone rather than in wood, brings out so many internal as well as external similarities that the creation of another master so akin and equally powerful, with no other works to substantiate such a creation, would seem unreasonable. Particularly is this so when no suggestion exists of any physical impediments to Nikolaus Gerhaert's authorship.

In his treatment of the half-figure as though seen at a window, such as in the case of the *Bärbele* and the *St. Margaret*, Nikolaus Gerhaert set a prototype for the succeeding generation. The well-known busts of the choir stalls in Ulm and from Wein-

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garten show the master's immediate influence; numerous other examples made toward the end of the century reflect the same original impulse and demonstrate its continued potency.

It should be noted here that the *St. Margaret*, like other works of the master, indicates his unique power of blending the new realism with the inner spiritual convictions of the Gothic Age.

It is this ability which made Nikolaus Gerhaert the most developed and powerful northern sculptor of his time.

Quite apart from its intrinsic value and importance as a work of art, such a creation of Nikolaus Gerhaert must hold a key position of great significance in the whole stylistic development of late medieval sculpture in western and southern Germany.

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State of Michigan, County of Wayne—ss.

Before me, a Notary Public in and for the State and county aforesaid, personally appeared Marion B. Owen, who, having been duly sworn according to law, deposes and says that she is the Secretary of THE ART QUARTERLY and that the following is, to the best of her knowledge and belief, a true statement of the ownership, management, etc., of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above caption, required by the Act of August 24, 1912, as amended by the Act of March 3, 1933, embodied in section 537, Postal Laws and Regulations, printed on the reverse of this form, to wit:

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ALFRED V. LaPOINTE.

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